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OF
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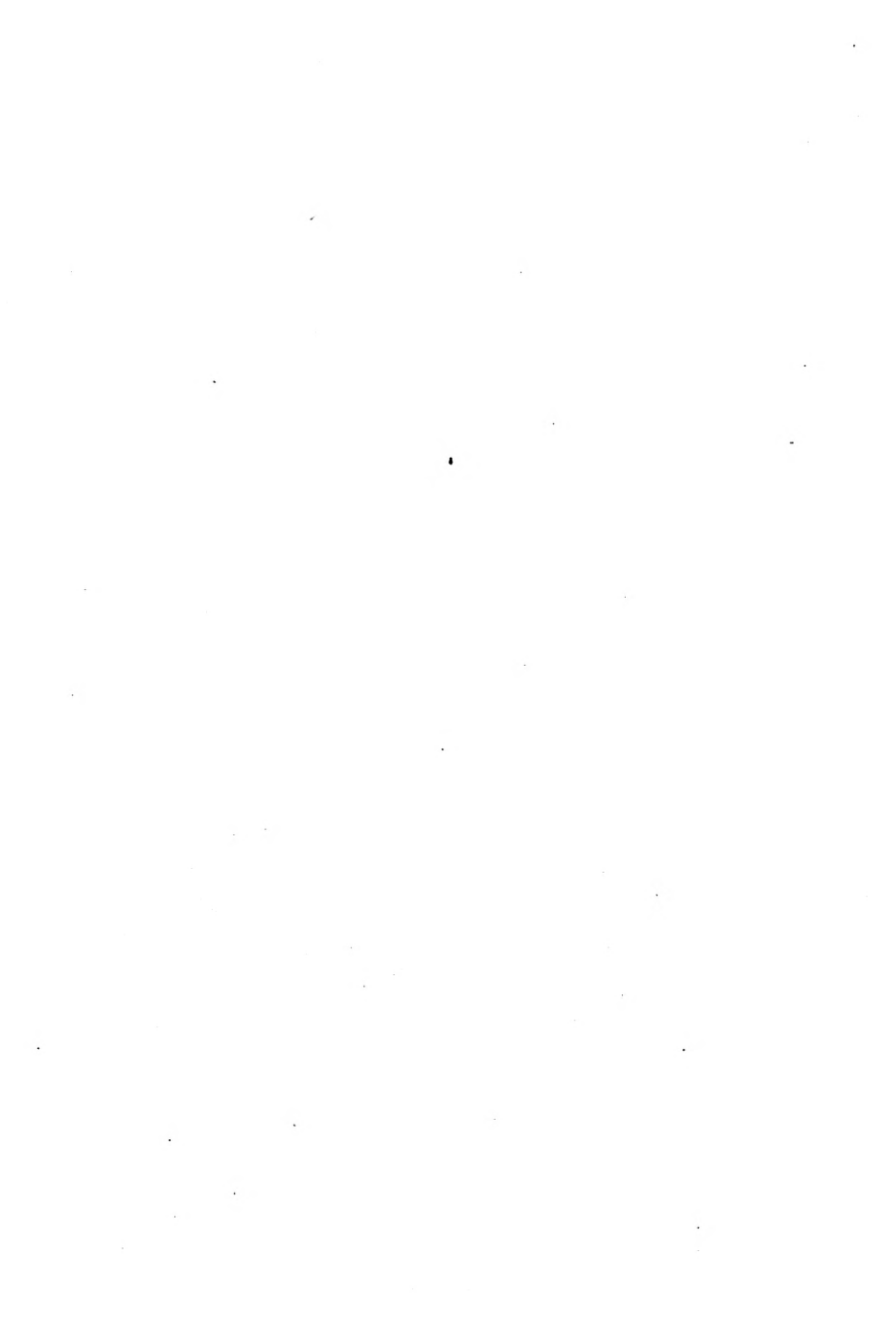
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John Adams

JOHN ADAMS

A CHARACTER SKETCH

BY

SAMUEL WILLARD, M.D., LL.D.

Author of "Synopsis of History," etc.

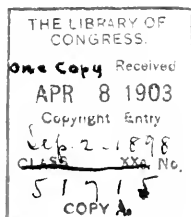
WITH ANECDOTES, CHARACTERISTICS AND
CHRONOLOGY

NEW YORK:

INSTRUCTOR PUBLISHING CO.

DANSVILLE, N. Y.

INSTRUCTOR PUBLISHING CO.



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IN the building of a house, one man must be supreme. The plan must be the product of one mind; if there are suggestions of other minds as to plan and details, they are accepted or rejected, so that one mind finally arranges all. If the owner of the house chooses to leave the matter to an architect after telling him in general what he wants, the architect's one mind perfects plan and details.

We often speak of the building of a state, and compare a state to a grand structure, a house, or temple. But the constitution of a state is never the work of one man. Even if a man is called an absolute ruler, an autocrat, czar, emperor, or tyrant, he really cannot do everything at his own will. Even in Turkey and Persia the sultan and shah find that men can not be moved as if they were chessmen or checkermen. It has been said that Russia is an autocracy, tempered by assassination. Revolt and revolution dog the steps of tyranny.

We have all laughed at the story of the county officers who passed three resolutions: (1) "*Resolved*, that we will have a new jail: (2) "*Resolved*, that the materials of the old jail shall be used in building the new jail: (3) *Re-*

solved, that the old jail shall be occupied until the new jail is built." However funny this story may be as applied to a material building, it sets forth the actual problem of the real statesman.

As a nation advances in civilization, in knowledge, in wealth, in moral and spiritual life, its former institutions and customs become the old jail: the new life must be expressed in new laws and regulations, which the true statesman prepares. In doing so, he retains all that is suitable of the old ways; and it will be found that his changes and new enactments are few in comparison with the entire mass of customs and habits of his people: this is occupying the old jail while the new structure is erected. And his changes are in the line of the healthy tendencies of the existing life of the community: he is thus building the new out of the materials of the old. In time, his new structure will become an old jail to a later age, cramping and confining it. Then the same course of events ensues.

In several instances, communities of the ancient Greeks, upon finding themselves in political difficulties, selected their wisest man and gave him full authority to make new laws, and even a new constitution; that is, to revise fundamentally the form of government. At Athens, nearly 600 years before Christ, this power was conferred upon Solon, who proved to be the wisest of all single legislators. Some of his changes were so great that it was said he had moved the country with an earthquake. They were like our revolutionary war in destroying the exclusive power of the nobles, and like our

civil war in giving freedom to a mass of slaves. Wise as he was, he talked of some of his plans with his friends, and doubtless gave some heed to their objections and suggestions. And this is the crowning proof of his wisdom: he recognized the necessity of further changes, saying that he had not given the Athenians the best possible laws, but the best laws for them as they then were. And after he had governed them several years and accustomed them to his laws, he left them and went out of the country, that they might use the new freedom themselves; for he saw that it would be of no use to give them free institutions if he must stay in Athens to keep them going.

Modern states, of whatever form, are the results of the thoughts and work of innumerable men, working in different ways, often in collision and opposition to each other, sometimes in civil war and revolution. The study of history has its greatest interest in the exhibition of this fact. Jewish, Greek, Roman, Keltic, and Teutonic elements appear in our daily life, in our laws, in our constitutions.

The excellence of the work of the makers of the constitution of the United States came from their taking ideas, more or less familiar to the people, and suited to American and Colonial conditions; and these they wrought into a practical and practicable form and scheme. If the geography of the country had been something else, if the history of the settlement and the growth of the colonies had been different, if the people had not been of common and cognate origin from

the British Islands and the Netherlands, the form of government would have been something else, perhaps not even a republic.

American young people, and old people too, if they have not thought over the question carefully, are apt to think that all governments should be like ours, democratic federated republican. If they should hear that in the western half of China the people had set up a republic, they would rejoice at the spread of free government. But experience shows that republics are suited only to very small communities imbued with a strong and narrow sense of patriotism and cohesion, or to well-trained larger peoples.

Scores of republics have flourished a while and then have gone to wreck; some have gone upon the rocks immediately. In 1789, France entered upon the path of revolution; she soon killed her king, drove out or slew her nobles and priests, and with a great flourish proclaimed Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. In less than ten years thereafter, she was under the military despotism of the first Napoleon of iron hand and stony heart: then she recalled her kings; then set up another republic; then succumbed to another military tyranny, which ended in 1870; and only within the last twenty years has it seemed to hopeful Americans that France is to be henceforth a republic, but with certainty of many difficulties to be overcome. Yet no one will deny the high intelligence and ardent patriotism of hosts of Frenchmen.

Switzerland has for 600 years been free from monarchy, and hence, called a republic; but her republicanism

has been very unlike ours; and her whole territory is only four-fifths as large as Vermont and New Hampshire together.

Such facts as these should lead us to admire the more, the wisdom and unselfishness and patriotism of the founders of the independence and constitutional governments of the states and of the nation.

Small communities have made republics more easily, because their people have had similar habits and feelings, could easily communicate



Napoleon Bonaparte.

with each other, and could all know something of the men, chosen as officers or rulers. But the constitution of 1787 was so framed, that in connection with the telegraph, railroads, steam navigation, and the modern press, the modern means of communication and information, it may gather under its sway, the whole of North

America in due time. These founders worked with apprehension and even fear that they were attempting an experiment the issue of which was doubtful; but they put into it sincerely and hopefully their best wisdom and effort. We can rightly admire and honor them all, though we number among them such opponents as Hamilton and Jefferson, the Adamses and Patrick Henry.

And this leads to another caution which the young student of history may need to bear in mind. Political opinions are not to be confounded with patriotism. Patriotism is the *feeling* of love for one's country which leads one to give property, effort or even life for the common welfare or the commonwealth. But an *opinion* is not a feeling. Two men may love the country equally, while one thinks revenue is best raised by a direct tax, the other says a tariff is best. However hotly they may argue over it, each may be equally willing to give his life and his all for his country.

The general who retreats may be just as brave as the one who offers battle. Washington was no less patriotic when he accompanied Gen. Braddock to fight for England and King George II, than he was when he commanded the armies of the republic for eight years against George III.

In the contests of the present day, republican should not call democrat an enemy of his country, nor democrat accuse republican of lack of patriotism, so long as each deems the other honest, but mistaken. The demagogue, the political boss and the dishonorable officeseeker are the only enemies of the commonwealth.

Hence, in studying the lives of the early patriots, we can honor as equal patriots the opponents named above, though Hamilton and John Adams feared lest the constitution had framed a government too weak to survive, Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams feared it would be too strong, and Jefferson sometimes used expressions which were anarchic. Each ardently desired the welfare of his country, while differing as to the means of securing that result. Let us judge their opinions, but honor their motives alike. History shows that thus far their fears have proved groundless.

John Adams, the second president of the United States, had the peculiar fortune of being for a while, one of the most honored citizens of the country, intrusted with most important offices and appointments, and rendering services which were recognized as of vital importance to his native land; and then had the misfortune of retiring into private life under a load of calumny and obloquy, which made his name a byword of contempt. But with the fall of slavery and of the predominance of the political cliques and parties that persecuted him unjustly, it is possible to raise him again to his proper place as one of our foremost statesmen.

In 1636, Henry Adams appears as one of the freemen and founders of the town of Braintree, Massachusetts, previously called Mount Wollaston, about ten miles from Boston, to the south and east. In 1792, the northwest part of Braintree was cut off as Quincy, a place famous as the birthplace of the two presidents, John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and of John Hancock. The emi-

ment Quincy family was early settled here. And from that part of old Braintree came the Quincy granite to build Bunker Hill monument, whose architect was a citizen of that town.

Of the English family from which Henry Adams came, little can be said. The name probably indicates an origin from the Welsh border of England, where such names as Williams, Peters, Davids, John or Jones, Thomas, and the like are more common than elsewhere in Britain. Among those to whom Charles I granted the charter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, there is found the name of Thomas Adams, who must have been a man of some wealth and importance. It is guessed that Henry was a younger brother: Thomas did not come to America.

Henry Adams neither brought nor won wealth. The Puritan farmers had a hard time to maintain themselves on the sterile soil and in the bleak climate of New England. His whole estate as inventoried at his death, was scanty enough: a little land, a three-room house, a barn, a cow and calf, some pigs, fodder for the beasts; and in the house, kitchen utensils, three beds, a few old books, and one silver spoon.

But this hard land made strong men. The weak went early to their graves with consumption: the strong survived and propagated their race.

The Kanaka savage believed that the strength and courage of the enemy whom he slew and ate, entered into him. The New Englander found it so in the strife with Nature. The stinginess of Nature compelled par-

simony, abstinence, labor, ingenuity. The bitter east winds, and the stony hills, seemed to enter into the constitution of the Yankee, so that the genuine son of that stern sad land carries its granite in his blood with a certain fierce force.

The rigid theological system of Calvin, accepted without mitigation by the Puritan, consorted well with the severity of Nature, and intensified the character she generated.

So in Braintree, (local pronunciation is Bran-try,) and its vicinity, the descendants of Henry Adams clung to the soil and grew in numbers, wealth and civic importance, neither

poor nor rich, and with but the commonest ambitions. It was enough to live simply, to be upright with God, and to deserve the respect of the community.

Joseph Adams, grandson of Henry the colonial immigrant, had a large family of twelve children, one of whom, John, was the father of the president. Joseph had a brother John, who was the grandfather of Samuel Adams of Boston, the revolutionary agitator. Thus, Samuel Adams, thirteen years the elder of the future president, was his second cousin. The genealogical ta-



Samuel Adams.

ble on the following page will make plain the family relations. Joseph gave the eldest of his twelve children an education at Harvard College. This was deemed an equivalent to a share in the paternal goods; and at his death, he omitted that son in the distribution of his property. The president's father was not the recipient of this advantage, but remained a farmer. He married Susanna Boylston, daughter of Peter Boylston. He was so peculiarly prosperous, that his property, as listed for probate, was more than sixteen times as much as that of his great grandfather Henry.

The eldest child of John and Susanna, was John, the subject of our memoir, born Oct. 19, 1735, old style, which, according to new style and the calendar then used in Europe, generally, and which we now use, was Oct. 30.

This firstborn, a Sunday's child, the pious parents would gladly have devoted to the ministry of the Christian church. That ambition survived in many a New England family, long after that profession had lost the preeminence and prodigious influence of an earlier time. For this purpose they sent him to Harvard, where he graduated, or, as was then said, *was* graduated, in 1755. Many men afterward, eminent in church and state, were his classmates. There was William Browne, governor of the Bermudas; Sir John Wentworth, two years younger than Adams, governor of New Hampshire, 1767-1775, and as he was a "loyalist" or adherent to the British side in the Revolution, an exile to Nova Scotia, where he was Lieutenant-governor, 1792-1808, dying in 1820;

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ADAMSES.

Henry Adams, immigrant from England, at Braintree, 1636.

Son

Joseph Adams.

Peter Boylston.

Capt. John Adams, Mariner.

John Adams, married *Susanna Boylston*.
died 1761.

*Rev. Wm. Smith and
Elizabeth Quincy were
the parents of Abigail
Smith, Mrs. Adams.

Samuel Adams, born 1689.
mar. *Mary Fifield*.

John Adams, 1735-1826, 2d President.
mar. *Abigail Smith*, 1744-1818.

Elizabeth Quincy was
dan. of Col. John Quincy
and — *Morton*.

Samuel Adams, 1722-1803.
In Continental Congr., Lt. Gov.
Mass.

John Quincy Adams, 1767-1848, 6th President.
mar. Louisa Catherine Johnson, 1775-1852.

Charles Adams,
died 1801.

mar. (1) *Elizabeth Cheekley*.
(2) *Elizabeth Wells*.
2 children by first wife;
one was Mrs. Hannah Wells.

Charles Francis Adams, 1807-1886: Minister to England, 1861-8.

John Quincy Adams, 1833.

Chas. Francis Adams, Jr. 1835.
Bvt. Brig. Gen. in Civil War.

Henry Adams, 1838.
Historian and jurist.

David Sewall, who followed a family tendency, and was long time judge of the District Court of Maine; Moses Hemenway, a noted preacher; Samuel Locke, president of Harvard, fifteen years after his graduation, 1770-1773; and Adams's intimate friend, Charles Cushing. Of his rank in College, we know that Adams, Hemenway and Locke were deemed the best scholars. It was the custom then and until 1773, to rank pupils in the catalogue, according to social rank: John Adams, the son of a country farmer, was thus the fourteenth among twenty four.

Of his uneventful life at work on his father's farm, we know naught. As a boy of ten, he must have been stirred with the rest of the community in 1745 by the capture of the French fortress of Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, by the forces of the colonists without an English soldier or officer: it had been considered impregnable and was a great nuisance to the Americans. New England alone and on her own motion took it. Old England might have learned from this of what sort her children in the West were; and in fact, the very man who chief engineer of the expedition laid and directed the lines of the besiegers at Louisburg, marked the lines at Bunker Hill.

In the year of Adams's graduation, he must have been marked with apprehension, the encroachments of the French, and the defeat of Braddock, while admiring the brave young Virginian colonel, Washington, then first heard of in New England. It was eight years later before the French ceased to be a danger to New England.

and the middle colonies. Shortly after graduation, twenty years before the outbreak of the Revolution, this youth of twenty wrote thus to his friend Nathan Webb:—

“England is now the greatest nation upon the globe. A few people came over into this new world for conscience sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire into America. It looks likely to me; for if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks [*i. e.*, drive away the troublesome French,] our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us. *Divide et Impera*. Keep us distinct colonies; and then, some great men in each colony, desiring the monarchy [he uses the word in its Greek sense of sole control] of the whole, they will destroy each other’s influence, and keep the country *in equilibrio*.”

This letter was first published in 1807, brought to light by the son of Nathan Webb. Its anticipations and their correctness are remarkable. He anticipates the greatness of America, to become “the great seat of Empire.” The extinction of French power in America is expected as a matter of course, though that year had seen three ill-managed campaigns of England against

France in this country. Our growth in population is foreseen: a century from that time the population of the United States slightly exceeded the total population of the British Isles. Naval power is foretold: during the Revolution and in his administration as president, he was always urging the increase of power, both of the national navy and of our mercantile fleet; the war of 1812, the civil war and our war with Spain now current show the wisdom of his policy. Independence is foreseen: he was one of the chief agents in winning it. The danger of sectionalism and divisions among our people he presents, as if foreseeing the "Critical Period," as Mr. Fiske names the years following the Revolution, and the great secession. His own future policy is foreshadowed.

He had not decided upon his profession when he left college. Friends and relatives urged him toward the pulpit, toward which he was somewhat inclined. But Puritanism was essentially polemic or combative. The struggles of protestantism and its several forms of sects to secure their own right to exist, had not led them to any toleration of others. As Spain belonged to the papacy, Scotland to presbytery, and England to episcopacy, so should New England belong to independency of the calvinistic type. They had crossed the ocean and suffered many hardships to make a place for themselves: they could ill bear the intrusion of other religions into their hard-won domain. Besides, their earnestness and their confidence that they alone had the true gospel made them less tolerant. Indifference and doubt find toleration easy; but the indifferent or skeptic mood of mind

has no real toleration, and is apt to be contemptuous or bitter toward earnestness. Much that passes for tolerance in these days is really indifference.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, toleration was hardly practicable anywhere, so fierce was the contention of sects; and it advanced slowly in New England through the eighteenth century. The domineering spirit of the "orthodox" church kept John Adams from the pulpit, as it had kept John Milton a hundred years before. Neither of these strong men could afford to give up freedom of thinking and speaking. So while Adams was master of a grammar school at Worcester in his first year after graduating, he determined to be a lawyer.

Sixty years later, he wrote to a gentleman who had unearthed a letter of this period.

"I was like a boy in a country fair, in a wilderness, in



John Milton.

a strange country, with half a dozen roads before him, groping in a dark night to find which he ought to take. Had I been obliged to tell your father the whole truth, I should have mentioned several other pursuits. Farming, merchandise, law, and above all, war. Nothing but want of interest and patronage prevented me from enlisting in the army. Could I have obtained a troop of horse or a company of foot, I should infallibly have been a soldier. It is a problem in my mind to this day, whether I should have been a coward or a hero."

Looking at his actual career, we can confidently say that his brave soul would have carried a cowardly body into any danger, if duty bade. But was his disposition to be a soldier due to a pugnacity abundantly shown in later life? Or was it because the necessities of wars with France had made all New England military?

Mr. Adams began to keep a diary when he was twenty years old, and with great gaps here and there, he continued it till 1796. Much of it has been published, furnishing valuable hints for the history of his times. But it has given opportunity for some harsh judgments about his personal character. He often accuses himself of faults, especially of what he calls vanity, meaning undue self-esteem. He says it is his besetting sin.

But as we read this we should remember that he judged himself by the Puritan standards. The Puritans were very religious, and had very rigid codes of morals, and conscientiously adopted strict rules of personal conduct. Their theology taught them to abase themselves and to examine their own lives and thoughts and impul-

ses with great severity of judgment. Every man must be ready to say with St. Paul that he was "the chief of sinners."

In short, a Puritan in those and earlier times was a man with a sore conscience, which he continued to punch and irritate, as medieval monks wore haircloth shirts and flogged themselves with knotted cords. "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion!" was a favorite admonition. In their prayers they told God that they were vile reprobates, worthy of eternal damnation. Really they were sober, industrious, pure-minded, self-sacrificing, upright men. It was said of them that they were so upright as to lean the other way. Their worst fault was this extreme censoriousness, applied to themselves and to everybody else. The Puritan tried to rule all men as he thought he ought to rule himself. Such people, however excellent, are often very uncomfortable neighbors.

There is no reason to think that self-esteem was greater in Adams than in Jefferson or Hamilton, or Washington. Every man must feel that he and his work are worth something in the world, or he will be indeed a cipher.

Doubtless John Adams, like many other people, confounded just self-reliance with exuberant self-esteem, or with undue love of approbation. The most undesirable effect of this tendency was to make one impute wrongly to others such faults as he charges upon himself, and thus to make him suspicious. No man detects vanity in an others quicker than one conscious of vanity. When bitter experience had taught Adams the lesson of distrust,

he is charged with being too suspicious. But let the reader consider the story of his relations to his cabinet, and he will see that the president was not suspicious enough. As men of clear judgment grow old, they become less trustful, but make wiser judgments of others.

Mr. Adams studied law with Mr. Putnam of Worcester while he was a schoolmaster. There was then no such introduction to legal science as "Blackstone's Commentaries" (published 1768); and the student had to elaborate and arrange principles for himself from "Coke upon Littleton" and volumes written in the bad Latin of earlier centuries.

In 1760 Adams writes that he read at Worcester ten folio volumes "besides octavos and lesser volumes," having constant reference to reports and dictionaries. Evidently he studied Cicero, Seneca, Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, for the philosophy of ethics, law, and government.

Returning to Braintree in 1758, he read there in two years Justinian's Institutes (in Latin), taking with it and writing an English translation, Van Muyden's *Tractatio Institutionum Justiniani*: he lists eight other law treatises. He then complains that he has "a very imperfect system of law in my head:" he will read over and over Wood and Coke; will study on natural law and civil law; master Puffendorf and Grotius; and promised to finish with canon and feudal law—a sort of dessert, as it were, after such an enormous devouring.

Upon such a basis of industry and acquirement did this one of the founders of our republic build his future career; and thus did he fit himself to represent the Uni-

ted States in three courts in Europe. It disgusts an American to contrast with this giant of preparation and ability, some of the names that are proposed for nomination in national conventions in our day.

Jeremiah Gridley, the foremost lawyer of New England, presented Mr. Adams with a complimentary recommendation, Nov. 6, 1758, and the court admitted him to the bar. Gridley favored him, because he liked him. Two points of advice given by the old lawyer are worthy of remembrance: "First, pursue the *study* of law rather than the gain of it: pursue the gain of it enough to keep out of the briars, but give your main attention to the study of it: second, do not marry early, for an early marriage will obstruct your improvement; and in the next place it will involve you in expense."

He soon had so much business that he says no lawyer had more with so little profit in the next seventeen years, which brings us to the outbreak of the Revolution. Fees were small; but, as Mr. Morse says, the colonists were great sticklers for their legal rights, and would go to law on small provocation. This characteristic he finds appearing in their oncoming strife with king and parliament.

The second part of Gridley's advice he minded for six years. Then he married Abigail Smith, daughter of Rev. William Smith of the neighboring town of Weymouth. He thus became allied to the influential families of Quincy and Norton and Shepard: everybody knows how large the Smith family is. The marriage did but increase his business. The lady was for fifty-four



Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams.
(From the Painting by Gilbert Stuart.)

years one of the best of wives, most helpful to him by her fine mind, her wisdom, her courage in trials, and her love. All who read their lives admire her.

Mr. Adams was devoting himself closely to his profession, and abstaining from politics, though not uninterested in what was going on. His nature and habits were not likely to win popularity. The leaders came to see his value and drew him among them.

His kinsman, Samuel Adams, was leader in popular agitation, and was working toward an end that he dared not yet avow, absolute independence. John Adams, as we have shown, foresaw this, but only as something remote.



James Otis.

The famous contest over "Writs of Assistance" occurred in 1761. Adams, attending court as a member of the bar, heard the powerful speech of James Otis, of which we have no account but his. That shows how the argument and the vivid force of its utterance affected him and others. In reminiscence of it he said, "Then and there the child Independence was born." John Adams was resolved from that moment. But he used a similar expression about the event of March 5,

1774, the collision between the soldiers and the populace of Boston. He said: "On that night the foundation of American independence was laid." In fact, George III had begun laying such foundation as soon as he became King.

The writer of biography must presume the reader to be informed of the current of events: we can but mention them. On the passage of the Stamp Act, 1765, Mr. Adams led in calling a town-meeting, at which he presented resolutions of instruction to the representatives of Braintree in the Assembly. They were published; forty other towns adopted them, and Samuel Adams used them in preparing Boston's resolutions. He and most others regretted the work of the mobs that destroyed the houses of Oliver and Hutchinson, for violence tangled the case. Most of the judges of the colony paid no attention to the act, and issued writs without stamps; but Hutchinson, as chief justice and probate judge of Suffolk, would not hold court.

Boston petitioned the governor's council to have the courts opened, and selected as its lawyers to urge the petition Jeremiah Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, who was not a Bostonian. He had notice Dec. 19th, and had to plead the next day. He spoke first, and took the ground that the Stamp Act was invalid since the colonies had no representation. Gridley and Otis had previously admitted the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies.

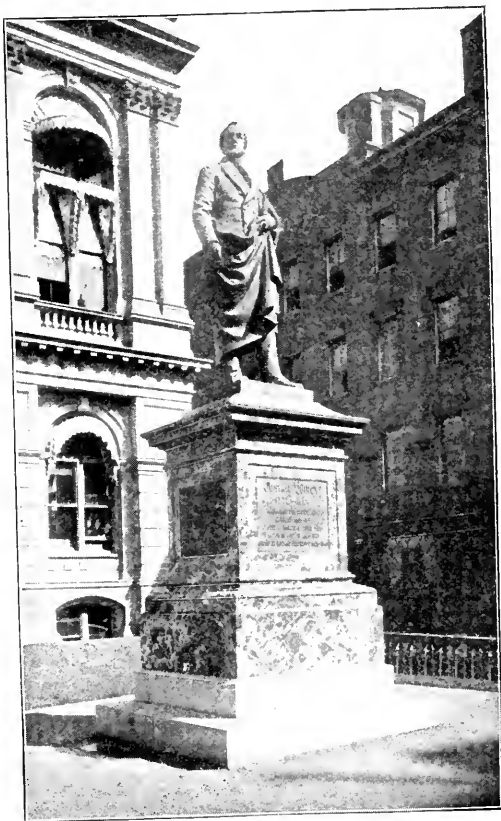
In 1766 Townshend's act laid taxes on glass, paper, paints and tea. This was met by the non-importation

agreement and smuggling. In 1768 Adams moved to Boston. Gov. Bernard offered him the office of advocate-general in the court of admiralty, saying that he asked no compliance in political opinions. Adams promptly refused it.

That year troops came to overawe the people; and an old statute of Henry VIII

was brought up to warrant transportation of alleged traitors to England for trial.

In 1770 Lord North became minister and the King's pliant agent. On the fifth of March occurred the collis-



Statue of Josiah Quincy, Boston, Mass.

ion of populace and soldiers, wrongly called the Boston Massacre. Captain Preston and the soldiers were arrested, while the regiments were sent out of the city. By Hutchinson's advice, Preston asked the patriot lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, to defend him and his men. They did it successfully. Perhaps Hutchinson thought they would lose popularity; but in June, three months before the trial, Boston chose Adams her representative; he had seventy-eight per cent of the votes cast.

Judges had been paid from the colonial treasury. Lord North undertook to control them by having their salaries paid by the King. Adams published arguments against this, and induced the Assembly to impeach Peter Oliver, Chief Justice, who accepted the King's money. No jury would thenceforth serve in his court.

In 1773 occurred the "Boston Tea Party." In all these struggles John Adams was the legal adviser of the patriots. Violence was not used till the last moment. The patriots tried to make the captain of the "*Dartmouth*" take his tea away. The Governor would not give him a clearance. At the end of twenty days the revenue officers would take possession of the vessel and land the tea. A struggle with them must not occur; hence on the night of the nineteenth day, the "Mohawks" committed a private trespass in pouring the tea into the harbor.

In 1774 came the Boston Port Bill; the Quebec Act; the annulment of the charter of Massachusetts; the act to remove trials to England; the quartering of troops

upon the people; and the appointment of Gen. Gage as Governor. This was as bad as James II and Andros nearly a century before.

The Assembly held a session with locked doors to prevent the interference of Gage, passed resolutions in accord with the action of Virginia calling upon the colonies to hold another Congress; and these were appointed as delegates: Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin and Thomas Cushing. The first three of these signed the Declaration of Independence. Henceforth the lawyer of the Massachusetts courts is merged into the patriot statesman.

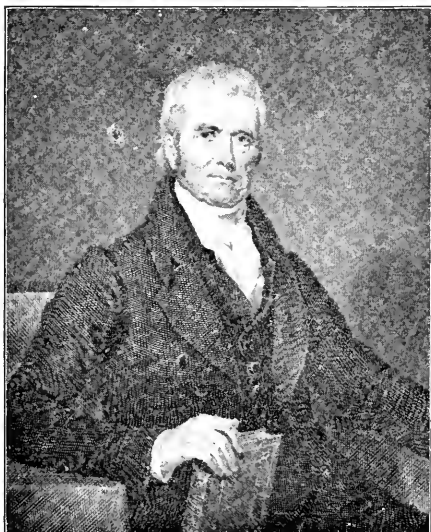
In the greatness of the crisis he felt lost. Who could be "sufficient unto these things?" John Adams looked far beyond the present agitation, which was destructive, in which his cousin as a popular leader excelled; he saw that there must be construction of government as well as overthrow of tyranny.

Such men as Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, Thomas Jefferson, and Patrick Henry did grand service as consuming fires in the lumber of the old system; but no one of them was a practical builder. Both kinds of men are always needed: the world can spare neither sort; and in that crisis the destroyers must take the lead. Nor was John Adams lacking in that work, though he put in many a stroke for the new structures. He would build as fast as the ground was cleared. In this he was one with Washington, Franklin, Madison and John Marshall.

The resolution of resistance and selection of delegates

to a congress of "committees" of all the colonies was passed on the seventeenth of June, 1774, just one year before the battle of Bunker Hill. It was proposed

that the delegates from the several colonies should meet on the first of September next thereafter, at Philadelphia.



John Marshall, American Jurist and Statesman.
Born 1755. Died 1835.

All the colonies responded favorably except Georgia, which sent no representatives. Maryland was so prompt that she chose her delegates on the twenty-second of June. Seven others chose delegates in July.

Fifty-six representatives attended: forty-four were present at the opening, Monday, September fifth, from eleven colonies: those from North Carolina were a few days late. This body was called the Continental Congress, and sat in Carpenter's Hall. It was the first united organization of the colonists to resist the tyranny of King George and his Parliament.

It was not the English people's Parliament, though there were in it great-hearted and far-seeing men who

represented the true interests of the nation, such as Burke, Dunning, Barré, Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, and Lenox, Duke of Richmond. But the Parliament was then elected by the influence of few men, and did not represent the people.

It is worth while to review here the story of the growth of English liberty from which sprang American liberty; for the patriots of the Revolution demanded at first only that they be treated as Englishmen, under laws made by a body which was elected to represent the people, in some degree at least.

The Angles, Saxons, Danes and Normans that made the English people always had a great deal of personal liberty. The kings were leaders in war, judges in peace, but paid the expenses of their courts and palaces from the income from the lands called crown lands. The people paid few taxes to the king, except in emergencies.

There grew up the Feudal System under which the knights and nobles made serfs (not slaves) of the common people, claiming from them much of the products of their labor. The knights and nobles were obliged to serve the king in war at his summons; but the king could not claim of them any taxes or contributions beyond certain ones allowed by the Feudal System, called reliefs, aids, and fines: the word *fines* did not have its present meaning.

If the king wanted more money, he must call a meeting of his great nobles and ask for it: he could collect only what they granted. In like manner, a duke or



King John Sealing the Magna Charta.

great noble must call a meeting of the knights and nobles under him and have it voted if he wanted money from them. Thus there grew up the rule "no tax without a vote."

A willful king, if disposed to tyranny, might get more. But in 1215 the very bad King, John, was forced by a rebellion of almost all his nobles to sign a document called Magna Charta, in which he promised for himself and his successors, that all his subjects should be treated justly and according to law, and that he would claim no taxes, but such as should be voted legally. Many other limits were put upon the King by Magna Charta; and it is remarkable that the nobles claimed rights for all freemen, and not for themselves only. The English nobility has always been very different in that respect from the nobility of the continent.

The kings used to call great councils of the principal men of the nation, knights and nobles only, summoning whom they pleased. They also made corporations of the burghers of large towns and cities, giving them charters of privileges in return for which the towns and cities, called boroughs, generally paid regular taxes.

In 1265 a Parliament was called to which each county in England was to send two elected representatives. Soon the boroughs sent representatives. The kings found it profitable to make boroughs, because they often found them more pliant than the nobles. But of course the nobles could have great influence in determining the votes of the boroughs of their neighborhood: many boroughs would sell their votes, electing any man who

would pay their price. Some towns went down to ruin; and the rich man who owned the ground where the borough had been could elect a member of parliament by his single vote.

While the power of the kings grew less as Parliament limited them more and more, and several civil wars strengthened Parliament, the kings and their ministers resorted to bribery to control Parliament. Places with high salaries for doing little were given to those who voted to please the king and his party. Men were made barons, viscounts, earls, marquises or dukes by the King's favor.

But after 1660, the rule that had grown out of the Feudal System was strictly observed: "No tax unless voted by the Parliament;" but all the Feudal obligations were abolished. Hence, came the idea that "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

The mother of George III used to say to him while he was young, "George, be a King." He was really a man of very ordinary ability. But he thought that to be a King he must govern at his own pleasure, and not be limited by the advice of his ministers, who are held accountable. If to please the King, they do an illegal act, they are punished; not he. He had five several prime ministers in the first ten years of his reign, whose quarrels and jealousies he fostered. Pitt (Chatham), was for a while the actual manager of the government, though not called prime minister; the King could not bear him, nor any other really strong man.

At last, 1770, he made Frederick North his prime

minister, finding him to be a man who would let the King have his own way. North was of easy, indolent temper, unwilling to pay attention to public opinion, and with no attachment to any political principle but keeping things as they were.

George III now took control of public affairs as completely as had the tyrant kings of earlier days, doing everything under cloak of the ministry, which certainly covered a multitude of sins against the welfare of England. Mr. J. R. Green ("History of the English People," *Bk. ix, ch ii.*) tells us.—

"Not only did he direct the minister in all important matters of foreign and domestic policy, but he instructed him as to the management of debates in Parliament, suggested what motions should be made or opposed, and how new measures should be carried. He reserved for himself all the patronage: he arranged the whole cast of administration; settled the relative places and pretensions of ministers of state, law officers, and members of the household; nominated and promoted the English and Scotch judges; appointed and translated bishops and deans, and dispensed other preferments in the Church. He disposed of military governments, regiments and commissions; and himself ordered the marching of troops. He gave and refused titles, honors and pensions. All this immense patronage was persistently used for the creation and maintenance in both houses of Parliament of a majority directed by the King himself. The shame of the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door."

Lord North did not approve of the King's acts. He knew that the King had had a touch of insanity in 1765, the Stamp-Act year. He excused himself afterward by saying in effect that he feared that he would bring on madness again if he worried the King by opposition. So a crazy tyrant and a pliant tool were important instruments in creating American Independence.

King George saw that he would have trouble in raising taxes in England, even with his purchased majority in Parliament. He saw that the colonies were not directly under English law, and undertook to increase their burdens; but when he tried to enforce the old navigation acts and revenue laws which had been evaded, and to levy new taxes, the Commercial States resisted.

When his Parliament altered the charter of Massachusetts and shut up the port of Boston, all the colonies saw that their charters might be revoked and their ports closed: hence, they made common cause with Massachusetts. The Continental Congress united their feeling and their action.

In anticipation of his going to the Congress, Mr. Adams was studying on the questions of the day, though he went on his usual circuits as a lawyer. He wrote in his Diary.—

“There is a new and grand scene open before me; a Congress. This will be an assembly of the wisest men upon the continent who are Americans in principle, that is, against the taxation of Americans by authority of Parliament. I feel myself unequal to this business. A more extensive knowledge of the realm, the colonies, and

of commerce, as well as of law and policy, is necessary than I am master of. What can be done? Will it be expedient to propose an annual Congress of Committees? to petition? Will it do to petition at all? to the King? to the Lords? to the Commons? What will such consultations avail? Deliberations alone will not do. We must petition or recommend to the Assemblies to petition, or ——” The dread alternative of civil war he would not write, even in his diary.

To his wife he wrote his wish for leisure for preparation: “I might be polishing up my old reading in law and history, that I might appear with less indecency before a variety of gentlemen whose education, travels, experience, family, fortune, and everything will give them a vast superiority to me, and I fear, even to some of my companions.”

The self-conceit which some charge upon Mr. Adams is not evident here. His solid foundation of legal, historical and philosophical knowledge made him the equal of any, except in the polish given by travel and extensive intercourse with men, and in the fortune of wealth.

His friend, Joseph Hawley, gave him a caution which shows that the jokes of to-day about Boston were already current then. He warns him not to fall into the error imputed “to the Massachusetts gentlemen, and especially of the town of Boston,” of assuming big and haughty airs, and affecting to dictate and take the lead in continental affairs. This jealousy of New England was deeply rooted.

All the delegates from Massachusetts, except Bowdoin

started together Aug. 10, going through Connecticut to New York. They were everywhere received with joy, and as public guests. But they found that independence and the war to win it, however evident to them, must not be even whispered.

John said to Samuel Adams that they were going to Philadelphia to enter into unavailing agreements for non-importation, non-consumption, non-exportation: force would be necessary.

In New York, McDougal warned them of episcopal and aristocratic prejudices against "the leveling spirit of New England;" and Philip Livingston betrayed such disposition. At Princeton, Dr. Witherspoon, president of the college, was working on their line; but they were told to be wary as they should approach Philadelphia. The committee that met them to escort them into the city let them know how they were feared as violent enthusiasts. Consequently they roared so gently that Joseph Reed said they seemed mere milksops. They let Rutledge and Harrison outbrave them. "We have a delicate course to steer between too much activity and too much insensibility," wrote John Adams.

Things seemed to go slowly; but by the 17th of September he wrote, "This day convinced me that America will support Massachusetts or perish with her."

Nevertheless the delegation got others, now of one colony and now of another, to put forward their thoughts and plans. Most wanted Massachusetts to steer carefully between obedience and rebellion, like the famous sportsman who shot into the bushes "to hit it if it was

a deer, and miss it if it was a calf." The majority expected ultimate reconciliation with England. Virginia and Massachusetts worked together generally, the delegates from Virginia being Washington, Henry, Peyton Randolph (elected to preside), Richard Bland, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison and Richard Henry Lee. Mr. Adams was on a committee to prepare a petition to the King with Lee and Henry Johnson of Maryland, and John Rutledge of South Carolina.

The middle colonies and their views had little representation in that body, and the report was too sharp: so Dickinson of Pennsylvania was added to rewrite or soften it.

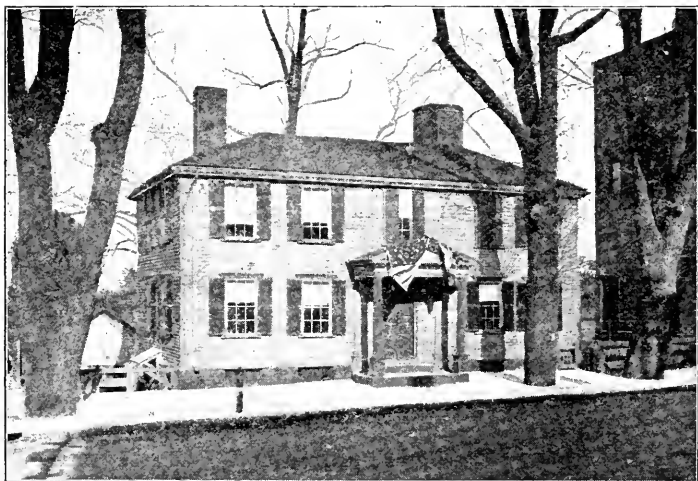
A more important committee was a large one to prepare a declaration of rights. Both Adamses were in this. Their report affirmed that a right of taxation of colonists belonged to them only; but that Parliament might make regulations for the external commerce of all parts of the empire, but not for revenue.

This first Continental Congress was controlled mainly by the ideas of John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, as it was necessary to yield to the middle states, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and to their conciliation policy. But it approved the Suffolk Resolution that no obedience was due to the recent acts of Parliament; it



Peyton Randolph,
President First Continental
Congress.
Born 1721. Died 1775.

adopted Jay's "Address to the People of Great Britain;" it tried to bring in all the English colonies, and sent to England a petition to the King, written by Dickinson. After thirty-one days of actual session, but fifty-two of



Suffolk Resolves House, Milton, Mass. Built prior to 1650. Dr. Warren and the Committee of Safety passed the famous Suffolk Resolutions here.

assembly, it adjourned. Mr. Adams was on the whole encouraged.

A provincial congress was taking the place of the Charter Assembly; and Braintree sent Adams as her representative. He was sent to the Second Continental Congress, which met May 10, 1775. Meanwhile had occurred the battles of Lexington and Concord. John Hancock had taken Bowdoin's place in the delegation.

Mr. Adams found a great change in New York, the

most commercial of the middle states: actual war had stirred the people to range themselves with Massachusetts and Virginia in resistance. He left home with some anxiety for his family: his wife wrote him of a local alarm of an invasion of their neighborhood by a detachment of soldiers who came, however, only to get some hay.

The middle state of Pennsylvania was under the influence of John Dickinson, still hanging back; and many delegates were hopeful of reconciliation, though war was going on. Dickinson succeeded in carrying his point, one more "dutiful and humble petition," called by some the Olive-Branch Petition. But by the same vote there was joined with the order for the petition other measures of warlike character. New York was to be put into a state of defense. Military spirit was rising. It was a significant fact, that Washington came to the Congress everyday in his uniform. He said little: the dress had unmistakable meaning.

On Dickinson's day of partial success came a letter from Massachusetts asking advice about "the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government," since the local government was disorganized. The Congress was forced to act: June 9th, it advised Massachusetts to organize a government. This was a great step toward independence in fact, though many would not so consider it.

Adams now pushed another suggestion of the provincial congress of his State, the adoption of the army in front of Boston, in which were men from other colonies.

June 14th, Congress voted to raise 20,000 men, Mr. Adams promising to raise ten thousand from Massachusetts.

Of course a commander-in-chief must be appointed for this army, to act with the authority of the United Colonies, as they still called themselves. As matters stood, Massachusetts was carrying on war alone, with Gen. Artemas Ward, an esteemed officer of the French and Indian war, as her generalissimo.

Mr. Adams found difficulties in local jealousies and personal ambitions, as well as in the backwardness of the moderates and conservatives. He was never lacking in courage; he was, indeed, liable to be charged with being overbold, so that he chafed under the enforced delays. Private conferences with other delegates reached no result. He told Samuel Adams one morning that he was going to make a bold stroke to end the suspense: he would propose the adoption of the army and the appointment of Col. Washington as commander of it. Mr. Samuel Adams did not assent or dissent.

When John Adams got the floor, he moved the adoption of the army and went on to speak of its commander, eulogizing a certain gentleman from Virginia "who could unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person." Though no name was spoken all knew he meant Washington, who was so startled that he rose and went out.

Some said it was a doubtful measure to put a southerner over an army of New England troops now doing admirably under their own officers. Pendleton of Virginia especially urged this, followed by Sherman of Connec-

ticut; and Cushing of Massachusetts fell into line with them. Hancock, the presiding officer, was ambitious for the place. Other aspirants might be jealous and become hostile to Adams; but he never feared enemies when sure he was right. The vote was not hurried; Adams left the formal nomination for some one else. On the 15th of June, Thomas Johnson of Maryland nominated Washington, and he was unanimously elected, and left Philadelphia on the 21st.



John Hancock.

Mr. Adams had now gained two important points: he had had the Congress to advise Massachusetts to establish an insurgent or rebel government; and next to adopt and organize an army that was at war with King George. If this belligerency was not independence, what was it? Nor had he consulted Massachusetts or New England about making a Virginian Commander over her troops. Considering the local jealousies, this was a brave and bold deed. Certainly three New Englanders were at first against him in the Congress itself, and two from his own state. But he trusted the intelligence, liberality and courtesy of his people whom he knew well. His grandson in his "Life of John Adams" says:

"In the life of Mr. Adams, more than in that of most men, occur instances of this calm but decided assumption of a fearful responsibility in critical moments. But what



Battle of Bunker Hill and Death of Warren. Bronze Door on the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

is yet more remarkable is that they were attended with a uniformly favorable result."

The American people saw in his conduct in this Congress, in the war, and in his acts as ambassador or envoy, such evidences of pure patriotism, just courage, and high sagacity, that they twice put him next to Washington and once made him head of the

government. When he was defeated, it was not from loss of popular confidence so much as by dissensions within his own party.

The result of his moves at this time "set the seal of

wisdom," says Mr. Morse, in his "Life of John Adams," "upon his fearless assumption of one of the greatest political risks recorded in the world's history." And Mr. Adams said that the appointment of Washington would have a great effect in securing the union of the colonies; and further, that he had got them all as deep into the rebellion as Massachusetts herself. While he was doing this, red Bunker Hill showed that Yankee farmers could face and defeat England's veterans.

Soon after, Mr. Adams wrote confidential letters to his wife and to Gen. James Warren, which were taken from the carrier by the British and published by them, to create suspicion and ill-feeling. His private opinions were too strong for public use; they made lasting enemies. To his wife he said in a postscript:

"I wish I had given you a complete history, from the beginning to the end, of the behavior of my compatriots. No mortal tale can equal it. I will tell you in future, but you shall keep it secret. The fidgets, the whims, the caprice, the vanity, the superstition, the irritability of some of us is enough to——"; language failed him at that point.

So much for one barrel of his gun: it seemed aimed at the whole body of Congress; every man might take his share of the shot as he pleased, or generously give it all to his neighbors. The other barrel was aimed more precisely at individuals, but included the seekers for conciliation. Gen. Warren was president of the provincial congress.

"I am determined to write freely to you this time. A

certain great fortune and piddling genius [this hit John Dickinson, leader of the party of delay,] whose fame has been trumpeted so loudly, has given a silly cast to our whole proceedings. We are between hawk and buzzard. We ought to have had in our hands, a month ago, the whole legislative, executive, and judicial of the whole continent, and have completely modeled a constitution; to have raised a naval power, and opened all our ports wide; to have arrested every friend of [the British] government on the continent, and held them as hostages for the poor victims in Boston; and then opened the door as wide as possible for peace and reconciliation. After this, they might have petitioned, negotiated, addressed, etc., if they would. Is all this extravagant? Is it wild? Is it not the soundest policy? You observe in your letter the oddity of a great man [Gen. Lee]. He is a queer creature; but you must love his dogs if you love him, and forgive a thousand whims for the sake of the soldier and the scholar."

The reader will not wonder at the personal enmities these letters caused. Dickinson ceased to recognize him, and was his enemy as long as he lived (1808). Others of those that had "the fidgets, the whims," shunned him and were cold; even friends showed disapprobation. John Hancock drew away from the Adamses and toward the conservatives. The moderates thought Adams had betrayed the plans of radicals to hurry on independence. The English regarded the letters as evidence of long-planned rebellion. The worst effect was the suspicion which immediately attached to all his proposals, until

independence became inevitable. But Adams was so shrewd and so strong that he was indispensable upon important committees.

Meanwhile Dickinson's "Olive Branch" could not gain even an official reception in England, since it came from a rebel body, and, as C. F. Adams suggests, would look to George III much more like a highwayman's pistol.

New Hampshire asked advice, October 18th, about forming some government for order and justice. Adams joined in the debate, urging the need of some general advice to all the colonies. He argued that the people in their towns should elect delegates to a convention which should form a constitution, distributing powers to three branches, governors, councils and representatives, with independent judiciary; and that this constitution should be referred to the people for adoption and confirmation; and that officers should be elected thereunder.

He was one of the committee to whom the matter was referred, whose report advised a popular government, Nov. 3d. The next day a similar resolution was passed for South Carolina, Adams trying in both cases to bring in use of the word *state* for *colony*, and *America* for *the colonies*. He was opposed to a legislature of a single house and an executive and judiciary made of committees, which was Samuel Adams's ideal.

Adams had gone home during the recess in August, but had little rest, as he had been put on the executive council of Massachusetts.

It took him just a fortnight to reach Philadelphia,

Sept. 13th. Delegates from Georgia came in. The moderates had control, but had to move forward, adopt a plan of confederation, establish a post office system with Franklin as postmaster, create a system of dealing with Indians, appoint treasurers, direct military affairs, set up an army hospital, all of these acts implying independence and rebellion. Massachusetts men were left out of committees. Dangerous sickness invaded Adams's family, an epidemic attacking Braintree and vicinity. His brother died in the army. His wife was exhausted with anxiety and watching. But he felt that his position was that of an officer in an army in front of the foe: he must not go home.

Mr. Adams's policy suddenly came uppermost. Rhode Island on Oct. 3d asked Congress to create a fleet. The proposition was ridiculed, especially by southern delegates. But in a few days news was brought that two vessels were on the way from London to Canada with arms and powder.

A committee of three New Englanders was appointed, including Adams, to report on the emergency. They advised that Massachusetts be asked to put two of her armed vessels under Washington's command, and that he dispatch them to intercept those from London and any other transports carrying military stores; and that Connecticut and Rhode Island be asked to help. A report to this effect was adopted Oct. 13th, in spite of much eloquence.

By Oct. 30th, another committee on naval affairs was created, Mr. Adams being one, and a fleet of four ves-

sels was ordered. Nov. 17th, a corps of marines was ordered. Nov. 25th, the beginning of a naval code was reported by Mr. Adams and adopted. Dec. 13th, the building of thirteen frigates was ordered; and Dec. 22d, Esek Hopkins of Rhode Island was made commander of a fleet of five vessels. So, largely through the push and energy of John Adams, a navy was begun.

One important event helped him; about the first day of November, a ship had brought the news of the failure of Dickinson's last "Olive-Branch" petition. Thenceforth the moderates were rebels as much as the Adamses, the Lees, Washington, Henry and Hancock. They must carry on the war or surrender without terms. This changed the aspect of affairs very much.

For John Dickinson we may find some palliation, if not excuse. He loved his country, but acted like a coward. The proprietary government of Pennsylvania had somewhat protected the people from collision with royal authority.

Pennsylvania had no charter to lose, no rights dependent upon a royal grant and promise to its inhabitants under seal. Then, too, it was originally a Quaker colony; and no man could grow up in it without being affected by its peace-loving doctrines and ways. But worst of all were the influences of his family.

While Adams was supported in his course by his relatives and his brave wife, Dickinson's family was a drag upon him. Mr. Adams says: "That gentleman's mother and wife were continually distressing him with their remonstrances. His mother said to him, 'Johnny, you

will be hanged; your estate will be forfeited and confiscated; you will leave your excellent wife a widow, and your children orphans, beggars and infamous.' From my soul I pitied Mr. Dickinson. I made his case my own. If my mother and my wife had expressed such sentiments to me, I was certain that if they did not unman me and make me an apostate, they would make me the most miserable man alive.'" (Works, *Vol. II*, p. 408.) On a previous page he had written, "Mr. Dickinson is very modest, delicate and timid."

The influence of the Quakers and of the Quaker state in which they had predominance politically, was thrown then against the revolution, because it was leading to war; and because Massachusetts, the colony in which they had suffered most for their religion, was leading in it. A leading man among them, Israel Pemberton, in a conference with Adams and others, objected to a union of the colonies because of laws on religion in Massachusetts and other parts of New England.

Nor should we forget, in trying to account for the indifference and backwardness of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, that there was a larger share of un-English elements in their population than elsewhere. The first settlers of all these except Pennsylvania were Dutch and Swedes, foreigners to English law and ideas.

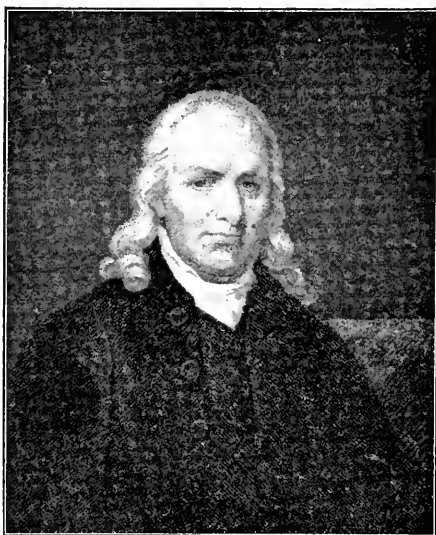
The revolutionary party were demanding their rights as Englishmen, referring back to Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights, as well as to charters granted by English kings. These were not

household words to a generation whose grandfathers or great-grandfathers were conquered by England, or who came like the numerous Pennsylvania Germans from Germany itself. Many did join the Revolution earnestly, as did the French infusion of Huguenots in South Carolina; but the masses were different from New Englanders and Virginians.

Adams now writes: "Our counsels have been hitherto too fluctuating; one day, measures for carrying on the war were adopted; the next, nothing must be done that would widen 'the unhappy breach between Great Britain and the colonies.' As these different ideas have prevailed, our conduct has been directed accordingly. . . . Thank God, the happy day which I have long wished for is at length arrived: the southern colonies no longer entertain jealousies of the northern; they no longer look back to Great Britain; they are convinced that they have been pursuing a phantom, and that their only safety is a vigorous determined defense. One of the gentlemen who had been most sanguine for pacific measures and very jealous of the New England colonies, addressing me in the style of Brother Rebel, told me he was now ready to join us heartily. 'We have got,' says he, 'a sufficient answer to our petition. I want nothing more, but am ready to declare ourselves independent, send ambassadors,' etc., and much more. . . . Our resolutions will henceforth be spirited, clear and decisive."

Truly the ignorance and self-conceit of King George and his ministers did more for independence than the eloquence of Patrick Henry and the arguments of Ad-

ams. They could not move Pennsylvania; he did. But Adams was not trusted by all; when he went home in December, Lynch of South Carolina wrote to Washing-



Samuel Chase.

ton, "Whether his intents be wicked or not, I doubt much. *He should be watched.*"

Probably before the news of the failure of the Olive Branch in September or October, Mr. Adams endeavored to have an embassy sent to France, with powers to represent the combined colonies.

Mr. Chase of Maryland made the motion, as they had agreed; and Adams seconded it, and spoke on the motion and proposed substitutes, keeping his temper well under, and winning even from his steadfast opponents, Dickinson and Duane, credit for greatest knowledge of the subject and for eloquence. His lawyer-like mode of reasoning rarely rose to eloquence; but sometimes his deep earnestness brought into his speech his ready stores

of learning and a fiery rhetoric that was not common. Indeed he was more likely to offend by his impolitic way of blurting out his real opinions too bluntly to please, with severe criticisms upon others. In this discussion he gave his views of a proper policy for America: she should make no alliances, make commercial treaties only, and avoid connection with European politics and wars. The proposition failed then; but seeds of thought and of later action were sown.

In December Adams took leave of absence and went home. As member of the provincial council he was at once very busy, and prepared a proclamation to the people of his own state which has many of the ideas of the Declaration of Independence, and may give us a notion of what that would have been had he written it.

The council appointed him Chief Justice of Massachusetts. He accepted the appointment, which it would have pleased him to fill; but he never entered upon its duties, because they also re-appointed him delegate to the Continental Congress for the year 1776, and gave him Elbridge Gerry as colleague in place of Cushing, resigned. They left home Jan. 24th, 1776; Gerry presented his credentials Feb. 9th, and the instructions given by Massachusetts, which were:—

“Resolved, that they [the five delegates], or any one or more of them, are hereby fully empowered with the delegates from the other American colonies to concert, direct and order such further measures as shall to them appear best calculated for the establishment of right and liberty to the American colonies upon a basis permanent

and secure against the power and art of the British Administration, and guarded against any future encroachments of their enemies; with power to adjourn to such times and places as shall appear most conducive to the public safety and advantage."

Mr. Adams returned to find the Congress in a period of discouragement: "There is a deep anxiety, a kind of thoughtful melancholy, and in some a lowness of spirits approaching to despondency, prevailing through the southern colonies at present."

Why not? They had hoped and hoped for reconciliation with the King: now they saw before them the continuance of a war with the greatest power in the world. But Adams had learned that public opinion is apt to move in waves of discouragement and exultant expectation.

He prophesied, "In this, or a similar condition, we shall remain, I think, until late in the spring, when some critical event will take place, perhaps sooner. But the Arbiter of events, the Sovereign of the world, only knows which way the torrent will be turned. Judging by experience, by probabilities and by all appearances, I conclude it will roll on to dominion and glory, though the circumstances and consequences may be bloody. In such great changes and commotions, individuals are but atoms. It is scarcely worth while to consider what the consequences will be to us. What will be the effects upon present and future millions, and millions of millions, is a question very interesting to benevolence, natural and christian. God grant they may, and I firmly believe

they will be happy." Events went on toward independence. The British were beaten at Charleston and evacuated Boston. Paine wrote "Common Sense," a pamphlet of great influence, so much in the line of Adams's talk that some thought it his.

Congress authorized privateering, March 23d, and opened American ports to all nations, April 6th. Adams was sarcastic upon those who would not see the nature of these acts and said we had had half a war, now advanced to three-quarters of a war.

"This is not independency, you know. Nothing like it. If a post or two more should bring you unlimited trade of all nations and a polite invitation to all nations to trade with you, take care that you do not call it or think it independency. No such matter. Independency is a hobgoblin of such frightful mien that it would throw a delicate person into fits to look it in the face."

Among the difficulties of the situation were the rather aristocratic colonial governments in the middle and southern colonies, some of which were still proprietary. Movements were made here and there for more democratic forms; there was little reason for change if all were to yield to the mother country by submission.



Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia.
Known as "Light Horse Harry."
Born 1756. Died 1818.

In Virginia the Lees, Patrick Henry, George Wythe and other advocates of Independence determined to popularize the local government. No other in America had studied the science of government and the various forms for reaching political ends so much and so thoroughly as John Adams had done: and the practical tendency of his mind made his advice valuable. Jefferson and Samuel Adams were theoretical, and full of that false republican fear of reposing real governing power any where, lest it should be abused: a jealous fear which leads, if it works to its natural results, to an anarchy that invites despotism.

It has been the good fortune of America to be neither Hamiltonian nor Jeffersonian. When Jefferson said that the tree of liberty needs frequently to be watered with blood, and that rebellion is a good thing and necessary in the political world, he showed that he lacked the constructive power to conceive a government which should be at once firm enough for civil order and elastic and changable enough for liberty.

Hamilton's schemes missed the same good qualities in an opposite way. Practical people have found ways between the two; and John Adams, misunderstood and called an aristocrat, was of this practical sort. Both Jefferson and Adams were aristocrats to this degree, that they believed the wisest and best should be chosen to lead, to plan, to judge, to execute.

Richard Henry Lee talked often with Adams on the principles and details of government, and asked him to give him a definite plan for use. Adams gave him a

short letter containing the main features of such a system as he approved. Lee showed the letter: copies were taken and circulated. Others applied to Mr. Adams; whereupon he wrote a pamphlet, "Thoughts on Government applicable to the Present State of the American Colonies. In a letter from a Gentleman to his Friend." This, having the form of a letter to Wythe, is in "The Works of John Adams." The circulation of it in Virginia elicited a reply from the aristocratic party. Both were before the convention which adopted the constitution of June, 1776. The aristocratic party failed.

North Carolina asked his advice, which was given in like manner. Her constitution of 1776 remained unchanged till 1836. His influence appeared in the New York constitution. His plans would have made all the states independent of each other, to be united in a confederation limited to a few objects: he had not studied upon a plan of union very much. The influence of these examples ran through all the states that formed new constitutions.

Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and New York had especially instructed their representatives to oppose all propositions for independence. Even New Hampshire was an obstacle. A new plan was devised.

Samuel Chase went home to Maryland and organized a series of local meetings, a fire in the rear upon the conservatives, which brought that State over. Cæsar Rodney did the same in Delaware. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant resigned and returned to New Jersey where the Assembly was in session: he secured the election of

new delegates who would arrive July 1st, and would, as he said, "vote plump."

As early as April 12th North Carolina had authorized her delegates to vote for independence and foreign relations. The Virginia Convention, at work upon her new constitution, on May 15th, instructed her delegates to *propose* independence. But still Pennsylvania was a perfect Gibraltar of opposition. It would not be good politics to win a bare majority or even a majority of eight to five with such a great opposition in the heart of the land. Pennsylvania must be the keystone of the arch of union. Public opinion there was in favor of independence: but the proprietary government of the Penn family sent the delegation in which Dickinson, Robert Morris, Willing, Humphrey and Morton outvoted Franklin and Wilson: Wilson had changed from negative to affirmative vote.

A movement in another direction outflanked the Penn government. June 7th, Friday, Richard Henry Lee presented resolutions to declare independence. John Adams, as arranged, seconded them. The debate of that day, Saturday and Monday, showed that there were votes of four New England States, Virginia and North Carolina and one other Southern State in the affirmative. That would not do. The question was adjourned to July 1st. The next day, Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman and R. R. Livingston were appointed a committee on the resolution. On the 12th Samuel Adams was made one of a committee on Confederation, and John Adams one of a committee on treaties to be pro-

posed with foreign powers, where he was securely ballasted with Dickinson, Morris and Harrison of Virginia: and at the same time a Board of War and Ordnance was made of John Adams, Sherman, Harrison, Wilson and Edward Rutledge.

Important was a previous committee, May 25th, to confer with Washington on military affairs and plans, on which was John Adams. From their action grew the "committee on spies," John Adams, Jefferson, Rutledge, Wilson and Livingston.



Robert R. Livingston.
Born 1741. Died 1813.

Their resolutions, adopted June 17th, declared every person in any colony, whether resident or transient, to be subject to its laws: then the second resolution assumed independence and sovereignty most fully:

"Resolved, That all persons, members of or owing allegiance to any of the United Colonies, as before described, who shall levy war against any of the said colonies within the same, or be adherent to the King of

Great Britain or other enemies of the said colonies or any of them, within the same, giving to him or them aid and comfort, are guilty of Treason against such colony."

The next resolution advised each colony to punish such treason, which might be mere loyalty to King George. Surely France was no more independent than the power that defined and denounced loyalty as treason.

Mr. Adams was getting worn down with committee work, debates and planning.

The movement that destroyed the proprietary power in Pennsylvania began with Adams on the sixth of May. The resolution as finally adopted, May 10th, stood thus:

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general."

Adams, Lee and Rutledge were made a committee to prepare a preamble to this. The preamble, adopted May 15th, declared:

"It appears utterly unreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any government under the crown of Great Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed; and *all the powers of government* [should be] *exerted un-*

der the authority of the people of the colonies," etc., etc.

The proprietary government of Pennsylvania was certainly not "exerted under the authority of the people;" and when the preamble and resolution appeared in the newspapers of the 16th, the whigs of Philadelphia began to consult what should be done in consequence of the dissolution of their government. The pressure of public opinion and the movement for a convention allowed the committee of conference to express a strong opinion against the assembly's hindering resolutions of instruction; and the vote of Pennsylvania was substantially gained.

Mr. Adams wrote respecting the preamble and resolution, "Yesterday the Gordian knot was cut." He regretted that it had not been done a year sooner. He was probably wrong in that. He was ready; but the people and the political leaders needed education which the year gave them. The long debate attracted attention, stirred the consciences and raised the aspirations of the people, and made mankind ready for the verdict that justice and reason pronounced on the great contention. The saints may cry, "How long, O Lord!" but God does not hurry.

Adams, after hearing a sermon on the 17th that compared George III to the Pharaoh of the Exodus, wrote to his wife that in considering the events just passed and his little share in the great things, and in looking at the probable future, he felt an indescribable awe.

The vote was still to be taken, though the result was foreseen. It was agreed that it should appear unani-

mous. Dickinson and Morris were ready to absent themselves, to let the vote of their State appear affirmative. But the delegates from New Jersey, new men, wished to hear the grounds of the important action rehearsed.

Lee's resolution was called up on the appointed day. There is no record of a line of the debate. It is known that two men spoke. Dickinson, loving his country without reserve, constitutionally cautious, even timid, unwilling to burden himself with so great responsibility, yet hating the tyranny of king and parliament as bitterly as the Adamuses or the Lees, in a final speech cleared himself of accountability for evil results which must come in the winning of the good that was desired.

The debating talent was on the negative side. Dickinson, Wilson his colleague, who voted however with Franklin at last, R. R. Livingston of New York, who had ceased to oppose, and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina, could finely set forth that side. Perhaps no one of them spoke. On the other side, Dr. Witherspoon presented his arguments clearly, but heavily. Lee had been called home. Wythe and others could speak sensibly, but not with force of manner. Jefferson, mighty with the pen, was no speaker.

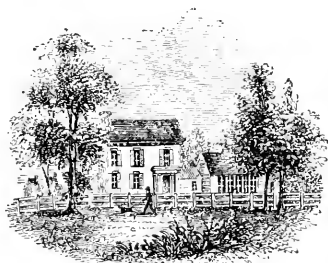
It was the great occasion for John Adams. He is rarely enrolled among great orators. His writings rarely suggest eloquence. But eloquence is often matter of occasion. The effect produced upon the hearers is the supreme test.

"Chatham, Patrick Henry, Mirabeau and John Adams will be handed down as great orators mainly by the con-

curring testimony of those who witnessed the effects they produced," says C. F. Adams.

Adams was elated by the consciousness of victory within his grasp, filled with the facts and reasons of his cause, mighty in the resources of his classical, philosophical and legal education and reading, and fired with the enthusiasm of his grand cause.

Dickinson's speech must have provoked him by its repetition of old oft-answered assumptions and reasons, by its lugubrious vaticinations, and by its timid and hopeless lamentations. Jefferson afterward spoke of "the deep conceptions and nervous style, which gave Adams a power of thought and expression which moved the members from their seats;" and he styles him the "Colossus of Independence." Richard Stockton varied the figure: he was "the Atlas of Independence." Other Virginians, accustomed to the florid and impulsive oratory of the South, filled "every mouth in the Ancient Dominion with praises due to the comprehensiveness of his views, the force of his arguments, and the boldness of his patriotism."



Home of Patrick Henry in Virginia.

It is strange that he impressed others, but not himself. He wrote to Chase that evening speaking of the debate as an idle waste of time: nothing said that had not been said six months before. Like a genuine Yankee, he

looked only at the intellectual and practical side, and thought naught of the tongue of fire which sat upon him and loosed his speech while others wondered.

One of the greatest of American orators wrote fifty years later such speech as he thought Adams would have made. At the close of this biography the reader will find Webster's version of it, probably less vehement than the original.

The day after the debate, July 2d, the formal vote was taken on Lee's resolution: it is brief, but enough: it broke the chain.

"Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

The more formal document which we know as the Declaration was already reported to the Congress, Friday, June 28th. The preparation had been referred to a committee, Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman and R. R. Livingston. The writing was left by the rest to Adams or Jefferson: in a little contest of courtesy each referred it to the other. Jefferson wrote it; Adams and Franklin suggested slight amendments, so slight that Adams did not remember that he had offered any.

It was debated after Lee's resolution passed, Adams defending it against criticism and alteration, Jefferson sitting in silence. It was amended, adopted and announced Thursday, July fourth. The signing of the en-

grossed copy took place later, several signing it who were not even delegates when it was adopted.

Adams wrote to his wife, July 3d, "Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America; and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men. A resolution was passed without one dissenting colony, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; and and as such they have, and of right ought to have full power to make war, conclude peace, establish commerce and to do all other acts and things which other States may rightfully do. [The reader will see that he quotes partly and by memory from the later document.] You will see in a few days a declaration setting forth the causes which have impelled us to this mighty revolution, and the reasons which will justify it in the sight of God and man. A plan of confederation will be taken up in a few days.

"When I look back to the year 1761 and recollect the argument concerning Writs of Assistance in the superior court, which I have hitherto considered as the commencement of the controversy between Great Britain and America, and run through the whole period from that time to this, and recollect the series of political events, the chain of causes and effects, I am surprised at the suddenness as well as greatness of this revolution. Britain has been filled with folly, and America with wisdom. At least, this is my judgment. Time must determine. It is the will of Heaven that the two countries should be sundered forever. It may be the will of Heaven that

America shall suffer calamities still more wasting, and distresses yet more dreadful. But I must submit all my hopes and fears to an overruling Providence, in which, unfashionable as the faith may be, I firmly believe.

“Had a declaration of independency been made seven months ago, it would have been attended with many great and glorious effects. We might before this hour have formed alliances with foreign states. We should have mastered Quebec and been in possession of Canada. But on the other hand, the delay of this declaration to this time has many great advantages attending it. The hopes of reconciliation which were fondly entertained by multitudes of honest and well-meaning, though weak and mistaken people, have been gradually, and at last totally extinguished.

“Time has been given for the whole people maturely to consider the great question of independence, and to ripen their judgments, dissipate their fears, and allure their hopes, by discussing it in newspapers and pamphlets, by debating it in assemblies, conventions, committees of safety and inspection, in town and county meetings, as well as in private conversations, so that the whole people in every colony of the thirteen, have now adopted it as their own act. This will cement the Union, and avoid those heats and perhaps convulsions which might have been occasioned by such a declaration six months ago.

“But the day is past. The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of

of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty.

"It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore.

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this declaration and support and defend these States. Yet through all the gloom I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."

But the Fourth of July superseded the second; and the jubilant patriot could not anticipate the present desecration of the anniversary, which makes it in every city a day of apprehension, of fires and accidents, of senseless noise, and the racket and sputter of the fire-cracker of the half-civilized "Heathen Chineel!"

Adams knew well that independence was declared, but was yet to be won. He was neither fanatic nor enthusiast. His stubborn force was paired with knowledge of means to be used and of ends to be gained. He was more earnest and pressing than any other man, and had reached his aim by policy as well as by statesmanship. Seeing when he entered Congress that that body

could not be hastened, he worked generally through others, favoring even the remotest step in the path to independence.

Many measures adopted months before logically implied independence; but he dared not even say that aloud. Mr. Morse in his "Life of John Adams" often accuses Adams of a lack of restraint of his tongue. One who said so much must often have said too much; but he must have undergone agonies of self-restraint. His severe remarks about others were generally in his private letters. Had he blurted out all he thought, he might have incurred the sarcastic reproach which Lowell flung upon "Philip Vandal;" that is Wendell Phillips; "he loves his fellow men so well that he has not a word softer than a brickbat for a single mother's son of them."

At this time Adams wrote to his friend and helper, Samuel Chase of Maryland:—

"If you imagine that I expect this Declaration will ward off calamities from this country, you are much mistaken. A bloody conflict we are destined to endure. This has been my opinion from the beginning. Every political event since the 19th of April, 1775, has confirmed me in this opinion. If you imagine that I flatter myself with happiness and halcyon days after a separation from Great Britain, you are mistaken again. I do not expect that our new government will be so quiet as I wish, nor that happy harmony, confidence and affection [will exist] between the colonies, that every good American ought to study and pray for, for a long

time. But freedom is a counterbalance for poverty, discord, and war, and more. It is your hard lot and mine to be called into life at such a time. Yet even these times have their pleasures."

Mr. Adams's supreme effort in the second Continental Congress was over, successfully completed. He had spoken of it as the very end and purpose of his existence; and said he would be willing, that done, to say with old Simeon, "*Nunc dimittis*." But he was too valuable a member to be let go easily; and while there was real hard work to be done, he was willing to remain, health and strength permitting.

The sessions of the second Continental Congress begun May 10, 1776, and continued till it adjourned Dec. 12, 1777, a period of 582 days. Mr. Adams remained in it till a month before its adjournment. He proposed that Massachusetts should enlarge her delegation, so that the Congress should have sufficient attendance while the delegates could be relieved by periods of vacation. His work may be inferred from his being on ninety committees by the record, and on others not recorded. He was chairman of at least twenty-five.

On one of these he served very unwillingly. Gen. Sullivan, taken prisoner on Long Island, came on parole with a verbal message from Admiral Lord Richard Howe, who wished to see some leading members of the Congress. Adams wanted to pay no attention to the message, being sure it could do no good to see him; but Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge were sent as a committee. They met Lord Howe on Staten Island

Sept. 11th. He received them very courteously, but had no terms to offer except pardon after absolute submission. They reported, Sept. 17th, the impossible terms. They had ceased to be rebels, and were citizens of the free United States. Like most of England's moves, the concessions came too late and were too small.

As the business so far as it was national was conducted entirely by a congress of delegates, there was no executive or judiciary except the Congress itself and the committees it created. There was no War Department, no Secretary of War; there was only a committee called sometimes the Board of War. We read of Washington's troubles as commander-in-chief: the Board had all his troubles except the tactical and strategical ones. There were constant and annoying jealousies between North, Middle and South. These were individual jealousies about precedence, appointments, advancements. All these things came into the Board of War. Great mistakes were made, as in the treatment of Schuyler, Arnold, Gates and Lee.

Nor could this body understand and appreciate the great military as well as personal qualities of Washington. It has taken nearly a century to show that his name must be ranked, not indeed with the most brilliant, as Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, Napoleon; but in the next class among the very best. He is called the Fabius of America; and Americans do not like Fabianism. They cry, "On to Richmond!" "On to Havana!" How unfortunate it is that in our country our greatest strategists, naval and military, are only editors and corres-



Gen. George Washington.
(From Portrait of C. W. Peale.)

pondents of newspapers ! One of this sort lately wrote that Washington never won a battle, meaning, doubtless, a pitched battle. How great must be the genius of a general that can win a war of eight years without winning a pitched battle ! But Washington was not a mere Fabius, winning only by delay. With his small, ill-armed, ill-provided army, he could strike quick and heavy blows, so that all the English generals feared him. But in his own day few saw how great he was.

Mr. Morse, in his "Life of Adams," thinks an excessive vanity on the part of Adams kept him from appreciating Washington. He calls his relative estimate of Washington "his unconquerable blunder, originating in 1776-77, before he left Congress, and acquiring much greater proportions afterward." But how great had Washington shown himself to be by December, 1777? To most people, his failures at Long Island, Germantown and Brandywine, and the loss of Philadelphia would have seemed to balance the success at Boston, and the brilliant moves at Trenton and Princeton. Surely Adams may be excused and not charged with an "unconquerable blunder."

Mr. Adams indignantly repelled the charge that he had been hostile to Washington, a charge which he ascribed to "that insolent blasphemer of things sacred, and transcendent libeler of all that is good, Tom Paine." He says that after his appointment as ambassador, Gen. Knox called upon him to learn how he felt toward Washington. "I answered that I thought him the most important character of that time among us, for

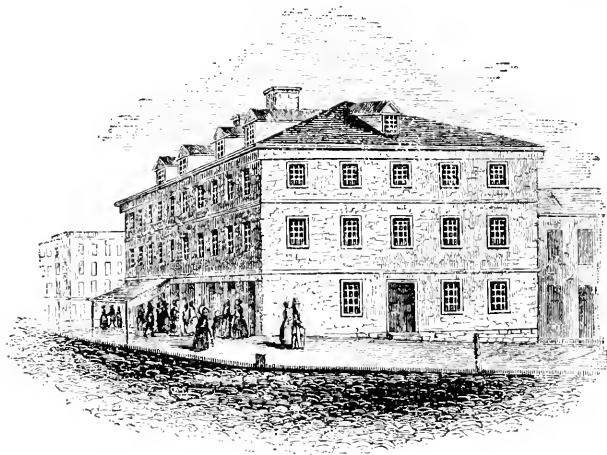
he was the center of our union. . . . I should do my utmost to support his character at all times and in all places." The Gates faction was no doubt glad to claim Adams; and Lafayette got that impression.

While Adams was on the Board of War, Oct 1st, 1776, he moved for a committee on the establishment of a military academy, and was one of the committee. From this suggestion came our West Point Military Academy. When Massachusetts officers complained of neglect and of the overlooking of their merits, he showed them how impolitic they had been in various ways. He reminded them of the panic of New England regiments at Brooklyn. He said there were political reasons for appointment of more southern than northern generals. He lamented the jealousy toward New England which had affected the policy of the United States.

"Without it Mr. Washington would never have commanded our armies; nor Mr. Jefferson have been the author of the Declaration of Independence; nor Mr. Richard Henry Lee, the mover of it; nor Mr. Chase, the mover of foreign connections; nor had Mr. Johnson ever been the nominator of Washington for General." This he wrote in 1822; but he had felt it in 1776. He really had been obliged to stand back and get others to move his measures.

Mr. Adams took a vacation to rest from over-work, Oct. 13th, 1776: he left home to go to the Congress at Baltimore, Jan. 9th, 1777. His route shows the difficulty of travel. He went on horseback through Connecticut to Fishkill, N. Y.; thence up to Poughkeepsie,

and crossed the Hudson on the ice; thence he rode to New Windsor, near Newburgh, and through Sussex county, N. J., a stronghold of the New Jersey tories, who treated him respectfully, to Easton, Pa.; thence through Eastern Pennsylvania to Baltimore. The weath-



Congress House, Baltimore.
(From an old Print.) Congress met here Dec. 12, 1776.

er was sometimes bitterly cold, sometimes warm, rainy or snowy; "roads abominably hard and rough."

Nov. 11th, 1777, Mr. Adams left the Congress permanently, returned home and resumed the practice of his profession.

The United States had three "commissioners" or agents in France, Franklin, Arthur Lee and Silas Deane. Deane had mismanaged his share of the business so much that on motion of Gerry, John Adams was appointed to supersede him, about Dec. 1st, 1777. The position was

undesirable. Lovell, R. H. Lee (brother of Arthur,) Roberdeau, Gerry, and Laurens, then president of Congress, wrote letters urging him to accept the appointment, evidently fearing he might refuse. He accepted it promptly. There was danger of capture on the way, a stay in the Tower of London, and the fate of a condemned rebel.

Congress sent one of its best vessels to carry him. Feb. 13th, 1778, he left his native town with his son, John Quincy Adams, not yet eleven years old, on the frigate Boston. On the 20th a British ship of war chased them; but the Yankee ship was the better sailer. A storm of three days with a stroke of lightning that shattered the mainmast was the next distress. A British privateer was captured, with a valuable cargo. Two vessels, apparently British war vessels, passed near them without recognition. March 29th a pilot boat brought news of hostilities between England and France: untrue, since no act of war took place until June; and the two nations went to war without any declaration. On the forty-eighth day of his voyage, April 1st, 1778, he went on shore at Bordeaux, whence he soon went to Paris, where he found Franklin, Deane, Arthur Lee, Ralph Izard and Dr. Edward Bancroft, all in some way agents of the United States.

Mr. Adams found all the Americans at Paris full of animosity and jealousy toward each other, and toward William Lee, who was appointed to Vienna and the Austrian court, but was staying in Germany. Izard should have been in Italy at the court of the Grand Duke of

Tuscany. Adams determined to have no share in their quarrels, and succeeding in avoiding them, attending strictly to business.

He found the embassy or agency had no records, no letter book, no accounts. He set himself to introduce business methods; to filing and copying letters; to rectifying accounts and introducing book-keeping. The American agents had obtained loans, made purchases, and distributed funds in this lax, slipshod way, for which a Yankee has his most contemptuous word, "shiftless!"

Mr. Adams wrote home to the Commercial Committee of the Congress. "Agents of various sorts are drawing bills upon us, and the commanders of vessels of war are drawing on us for expenses, and [for] supplies which we never ordered. We find it so difficult to obtain accounts from agents of the expenditures of moneys and of the goods and merchandise shipped by them, that we can never know the true state of our finances."

Some of the agents must have been surprised after the easy-going ways of the commissioners to find their bills and drafts refused, because they had failed to render proper statements. His colleagues left it to Adams to write the letters, being indifferent or reluctant to adopt business methods. He was polite, but firm; and the men with whom he dealt knew that he asked no more than was proper, and came into the new ways which he succeeded in establishing. In fact, financial affairs were not much better managed on this side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Adams was obliged also to make the official visits required by his position, to make and receive calls of cere-

mony and courtesy, and in so doing to struggle with the difficulty of his ignorance of French. He was so busy at first that he would not take time for lessons from a tutor, but tried to learn from grammars and text-books. He admitted that in this he made a mistake; but he was wise enough to attend the theaters frequently, having copies of the plays with him, so that he could join the printed form of words to the spoken language, and have the best models of pronunciation for imitation. He found that Franklin fluently talked a Franklinian French, with little regard to the grammar.

The worst thing he found was that the Count de Vergennes liked Franklin and snubbed the Lees and Izard; and that the friends of Deane and the adventurers who could take advantage of him and of the favor of Vergennes and of Franklin's easy-going ways, were making money out of contracts. It was necessary to strike at the root of the mischief, and secure a re-organization of foreign affairs. He could not write an official letter to the Congress without bringing his colleagues to agree to his views: he therefore wrote a personal letter to Samuel Adams, who would be free to talk of the subject; the result was that all parties joined in amending the lack of system.

Mr. Adams advised (1) that there should be but one commissioner, ambassador or envoy at any court. Each of them was obliged to keep up a respectable establishment, give formal dinners, etc., at an expense of not less than three thousand pounds sterling: those then at Paris had expended from four to six thousand.

(2) That a definite and sufficient salary should be assigned to each minister. The custom was for each to live as he thought proper, and to draw for the amount.

(3) That the business of commercial agent should be separated from that of ambassador. The functions of the two should be made distinct and kept so.

(4) That all the ministers at Paris, except one, should be recalled or sent to other places.

Forthwith Mr. Franklin was made sole representative to France, Mr. Arthur Lee was sent to Madrid, and Mr. Adams was left without assigned position, and not ordered home. Col. Palfrey was made consular agent with large financial powers. Mr. Adams could not bear this inaction: he wrote to his wife, "I cannot eat pensions and sinecures: they would stick in my throat." He got passage after some delay on the French frigate "*Le Sensible*," June 17, 1778, and reached home Aug. 2d.

Mr. Adams's first mission amounted to nothing in that way of diplomacy: it might seem that it had put him at risk and the country to expense, all for nothing. But the reforms he had wrought in the modes of doing the public business were worth all the cost; and he had shown his ability, his honorable unselfishness, and his fitness for public service, now the greater by his partial acquisition of the French language.

He had furthermore learned enough of France and the schemes and spirit of the French government to be afraid of too close a connection with that power. He said, "It is a delicate and dangerous connection. There is danger that the people and their representatives may

have too much timidity in their conduct towards this power, and that your ministers here [in France] may have too much diffidence of themselves and too much complaisance for the court. There is danger that French councils and emissaries and correspondents may have too much influence in our deliberations. I hope this court may not interfere by attaching themselves to persons, parties or measures in America."

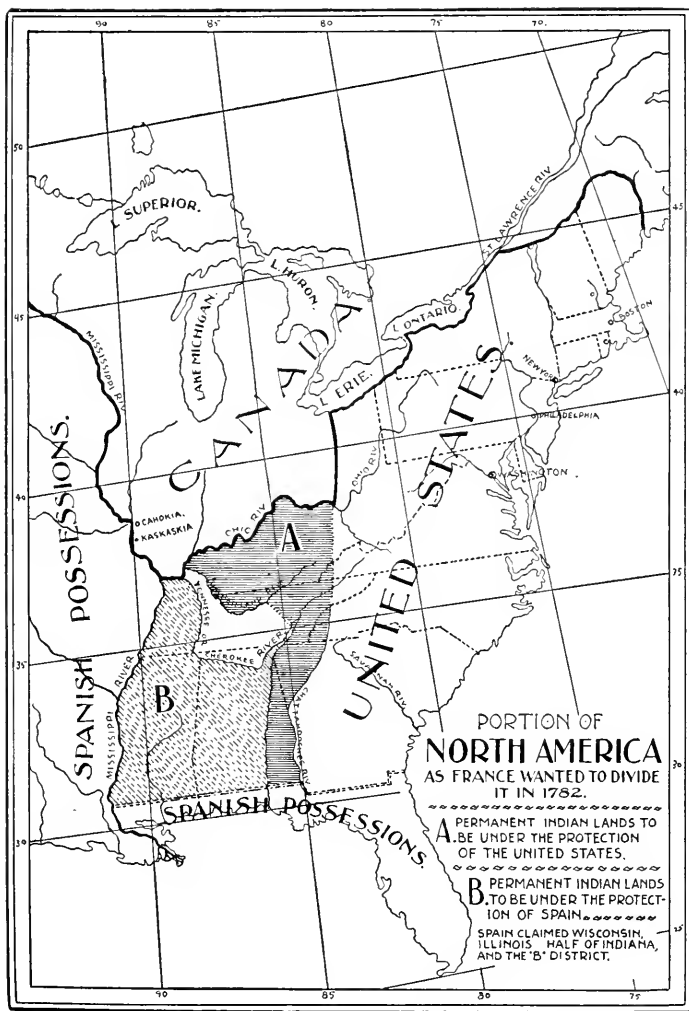
Mr. Adams expressed similar opinions to M. Marbois on the voyage home. He was destined to see all these anticipations of evil fulfilled before the end of the century.

Just one week after Mr. Adams reached his home, the town of Braintree elected him its representative in a convention to form a constitution for the state, as the arrangements made in 1774 had been considered provisional only. The practical character of his thinking made him a middle man between extremes. There was already developed in the state an ultra democracy, jealous of any executive, judiciary or legislature that it might itself create, desirous of retaining as much power as possible to the town-meeting, and of giving as little as possible to the state government. Samuel Adams was of this party, but with good sense enough to compromise and avoid extremes. Another party wanted the new constitution to represent strongly, "The rights of property." With neither of these could John Adams agree, while his plans might be a medium that both could accept. Though he soon left the convention, his speeches and his work on committees largely shaped the result.

The reader will find in C. F. Adams's life of his grandfather, an interesting analysis of the complicated relations of parties in the Continental Congress which had fallen into dispute over their foreign affairs, into which dispute the French minister put his influence. Negotiation with Great Britain was expected before long; New England wanted John Adams to have that task, because the free enjoyment of the fishing on the Newfoundland banks was important to her; and she could rely upon him to look after that interest. She distrusted Mr. Jay, who was made his rival.

In result Jay was made minister to Spain, whence Arthur Lee was withdrawn, while Adams was assigned to the expected negotiation with Great Britain, and sent to France to await the opportunity. Surely the two greatest assignments of responsibility to a single man during the Revolution were the appointment of Washington to command the armies, and the appointment of John Adams to match his patriotism, judgment and skill against the diplomatic strength and experience of our great adversary, and her wounded pride.

Mr. Adams left Boston for Europe on the French frigate "*Le Sensible*," the one on which he had returned home three and a half months before. He took with him his sons, John Quincy and Charles, Francis Dana as secretary of the mission, and John Thaxter as private secretary. The vessel was unseaworthy: the season was unfavorable: in danger of foundering, the ship put into the nearest port it could reach, Ferrol, at the northwest corner of Spain, Dec. 8th. The passengers had to make



a long and uncomfortable journey overland, taking two months to reach Paris. While delayed in Spain, Mr. Adams began to learn Spanish, which language he much admired; but he found nothing else to admire in that backward land.

The motive of France in her interference in the war of the American Revolution was not any desire to favor liberty or republicanism, or to do any real kindness to the Americans. Individuals of the French nation had such motives. The French government wished to take vengeance upon her great adversary who had taken from her Canada and her vast American possessions, and had destroyed her power in India. Spain wanted to regain Gibraltar, taken from her in 1704, and Minorca.

These two powers were therefore ready to help the revolting colonies as soon as they saw that the rebels made a good fight, and were not likely to become reconciled with England. They were pleased to see both powers exhausted in the struggle. France had a slight hope of regaining Canada; and she wanted Spain to regain the Floridas, and to extend her power over all the land west of the Alleghenies. When she began to fear that the United Colonies might become too strong to remain under her thumb, she wanted Canada extended to the Ohio river, as an English possession. (See map, page 81.)

It should be constantly remembered that in all respects France was a false friend; her pretexts and promises were deceitful; and her motives were merely vengeance and aggrandizement. American youth think of Lafayette and Rochambeau, and of King George, Lord North,

Gage, Howe and Cornwallis, and thus think of France as our friend, and England as our enemy; yet, in fact, the English ministers secured to us the land of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, while France was scheming to take them from us. No nation has ever treated us so meanly as France has treated us, as a kingdom, a republic, and an empire; and yet from none have we had greater benefits, given from entirely selfish motives.

The Count De Vergennes, French minister of foreign affairs, was not sixty years old when our Revolution broke out. He had been trained from his youth in the diplomatic wiles, falsehoods, dishonesties and selfish wrongs which made the very substance of diplomacy in those days. Franklin records an instance of audacious lying, which involved Franklin himself. In 1776, in May, Vergennes arranged with King Louis XVI a grant to the colonists of a million livres, about \$200,000, to encourage their rebellion to the point of independence. This was so given as to make it appear to be the private gift of Beaumarchais. In 1782 Vergennes told an English envoy, Thomas Grenville, in the most solemn manner, that France had never rendered any help to the colonists until they had broken away from Great Britain, and had declared independence. Turning toward Franklin, he added, "There sits Mr. Franklin, who knows the fact, and can contradict me if I do not speak the truth."

The influence of this perfidious schemer affected American diplomacy from its beginning. France was the first

power that sent a representative to the United States. Grateful for this act and for the assistance given, (though Vergennes meant the help should be only enough to keep them from failing, and falling under England again), Congress allowed itself to be much influenced by the



M. Gerard.

French agent, Gerard, and tried to please him. Later, they gave even greater regard to the next French representative, Luzerne.

When Congress was making up instructions for Adams, they first said that in treating with England he must insist upon certain boundaries, fishing rights, navigation of the Mississippi, etc. This did not suit Ver-

gennes: he might want peace made without such insistence; Gerard therefore *advised* that independence only should be insisted upon, these other points being strongly urged. Hence, two distinct commissions were given to Adams, for a treaty of independence, and for a treaty of commerce; and Mr. Adams was always to consult with Vergennes, and to be guided by his advice.

Mr. Morse, in his "Life of John Adams," keeps a pile of brickbats ready to throw at him, being apparently much more aware of the defects of the man, than of his good qualities. This pile consists of thirty or more injurious epithets and allegations. But at times, looking at the work he did, he falls to praising him vigorously. So

at this stage of the biography his admiration of results makes him say good things so heartily that we copy his estimate in part:

· "Mr. Adams was a singular man to be selected for a difficult errand in diplomacy. He seemed to possess nearly every quality which a diplomatist ought not to have, and almost no quality which a diplomatist needed. He was of a restless, eager temperament, hot to urge forward whatever business he had in hand, chafing under any necessity for patience, disliking to bide his time, frank and outspoken in spite of his best efforts at self-control, and hopelessly incapable of prolonged concealment of his opinions, motives and purposes in action, his likings and dislikings towards persons.

"Yet he was precisely the man for the place and the duty. With the shrewdness of his race, he had considerable insight into character: a strong element of suspicion led him not quite to assume, as he might have done, that all diplomatists were dishonest, but induced him to watch them with a wise doubt and keenness; he had devoted all the powers of a strong mind to the study of the situation, so that he was thoroughly master of all the various interests and probabilities which it was necessary for him to take into account.

"He was a patriot, so fearless and stubborn that he both made and persisted in the boldest demands on behalf of his country; he was high-spirited, too, and presented such a front that he seemed to represent one of the greatest powers in the civilized world in spite of the well-known fact that he had only some revolted

and more than half exhausted colonies at his back. . . . If it was true that quick-sighted statesmen easily saw what he wanted, it was also true that he impressed them with a sense that he would make a hard fight to get it; they could never expect to bully him, and not easily to circumvent him. . . . He was eloquent and forcible in discussion, making a deep impression by an air of earnest straightforwardness. All these proved valuable qualifications upon the peculiar mission on which he was now dispatched.

“Adams strode along stoutly in broad daylight, breaking the snares which were set for his feet, shouldering aside those who sought to crowd him from his path: unceremonious, making direct for his goal, with his eyes wide open, and his tongue not silent to speak the plain truth. . . . This trans-Atlantic negotiator excited surprise . . . among the ministers . . . of the European cabinets; but in the end he proved too much for them all: their peculiar skill was of no avail against his novel and original tactics. . . . So he carried his points with brilliant success.”

Mr. Morse thinks, however, that if Adams had been employed in a career of diplomacy, he would have been far from successful. Bismarck has in our own generation carried on negotiations after the fashion of Adams; but he was backed by the Prussian and imperial power, and used indirect methods also. He often deceived by telling truth, because others did not think he would expose his real purposes.

Mr. Adams was commissioned to make treaties with

England, but could approach that power only through some other. His instructions were, of course, private. He was to take the advice of Vergennes, which he at once asked, whether to make known his errand to the public or to the English court. Vergennes said he could not advise until he should hear from Gérard, who "will certainly be able to make me better acquainted with the nature and extent of your commission."

The fact was that Vergennes wanted to use secret influences to induce Congress to cancel the commission to make a commercial treaty. Adams felt that he had too little to do: and observing that little was really known in France of America and its people, he wrote articles for a newspaper, and sent notes of information to Vergennes, who was pleased to receive them. He also wrote often to Congress.

At the close of July, 1780, Mr. Adams went to Amsterdam, mainly to try to get a loan there. He found that the Hollanders knew little of his country, nothing of its resources and prospects. He immediately made use of a few friends to the American cause who gained for him access to the press. He published translations of the reports and narratives of Howe and Burgoyne, as the best evidences of the strength of the colonies, and extracts from writings of the royalist Governor Pownal. He procured through a friend in Brussels, the publication in London of articles written by himself, which were translated into the "*Leyden Gazette*." Of course he wrote articles for the Dutch papers himself.

Mr. Adams could get no loan. Just then Henry Laur-

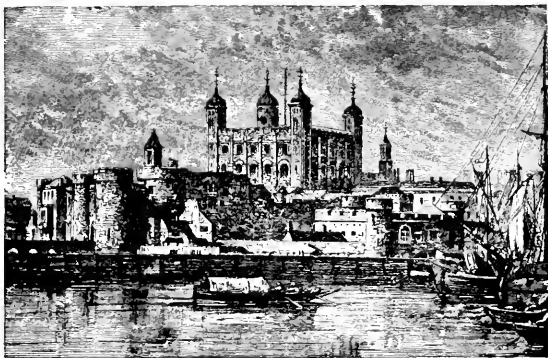
ens was captured by a British vessel; and among his papers was found correspondence with a leading Hollander which excited the wrathful suspicion of England. For a while, no further move could be made; but Mr. Adams's expected stay of a few weeks was lengthened nearly to a year.

Receiving additional authority, Mr. Adams addressed a memorial to the States General of Holland in February or March of 1781, stating that he was authorized to sign on behalf of the United States the treaty of the Armed Neutrality, which was negotiated by Russia to curb the insolence of Great Britain toward neutrals. He sent similar notice to the Ministers of France, Russia, Sweden and Denmark who were at the Hague.

Just a year from his first application, April 19th, 1782, the States General officially recognized him as envoy of the United States: and as such he was formally presented to that body four days later. England had unwisely added Holland to the number of her enemies in arms by a declaration of war, Nov. 20, 1780. She had now not an active friend in Europe. Russia, Sweden and Denmark were against her in the Armed Neutrality; Holland, France and Spain at war with her; Prussia was unfriendly; and the Bourbon court of Naples and the Italian states under Spanish influence would do her no kindness. Portugal, Austria, German principalities and Turkey remain: they did nothing for her. But George III doggedly held on.

After Adams left the offended Vergennes and began his notable and successful diplomacy in Holland, Ver-

gennes did not relax his efforts to influence the Congress to recall the man he disliked. To the shame of the American Congress it must be recorded that while it refused to recall Adams, it did, under the influence of Vergennes through Luzerne, revoke the powers given him to make a commercial treaty with England as well as a treaty of peace. At the same time, July, 1781, Congress



Tower of London, where Laurens was confined.

created a commission of five to treat for a recognition of independence and for peace; and Adams was retained as one, joined with Franklin, Jefferson, (who did not go to Europe on this business at all); John Jay, then minister at Madrid, and Henry Laurens, then prisoner in the Tower of London. The five were from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina.

But this act of wisdom on the part of Congress was more than balanced by a piece of supreme folly. Once certain *ultimata* had been set for Adams to insist upon:

first, boundaries on the north, about what they are now: on the south, the line of Florida extended to the Mississippi: on the west, the Mississippi: and on the northeast, the boundary of Maine as it had been drawn long ago by Great Britain. Next, the envoy should insist on free navigation of the Mississippi; next, the right of fishing on the banks as allowed to the colonists; and last, of course, independence.

Now, at the bidding of Vergennes, all these were abandoned except the last. He was willing that America should ask for the other things; but he regarded them as points to be abandoned in the negotiations if France and Spain could gain thereby.

Still worse, the commissioners were instructed "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge or concurrence; and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion."

Adams and Jay both felt hurt when they received this humiliating instruction: Franklin gave no sign of dissatisfaction.

Jay felt equally hurt, being treated with indignity. At Madrid he had discovered that France was more an ally of Spain than of the United States, and that the interests of his own country in the West and on the Mississippi were to be sacrificed. He did not resign, but wrote home asking that some other should be sent to take his place. Till his successor should arrive, he remained as

one of the commission. If Jay and Adams could agree, they two must play the game, Laurens and Jefferson remaining absent.

Those engaged in the negotiations which ensued, beside the three Americans were, on the part of France, Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs; Luzerne and Marbois, minister and chargé in the United States; the Count de Montmorin, minister to Spain; Marquis d'Ossun, agent sent to Spain; and Reyneval, the confidential secretary of Vergennes, sent thrice as secret agent to England. On the part of Spain, Florida Blanca, prime minister, and Count d'Aranda, Spanish minister at Paris. On the part of England, Oswald, the chief agent; Fitzherbert and Strachey joined with Oswald; Hartley, plenipotentiary to finish and sign the treaty; Vaughan, an Englishman very friendly to America, used by both parties: Thomas Grenville, sent by Fox; and inferior agents, Forth, Digges, Robert and Whitehead. English cabinet officers in the same negotiation were the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl Shelburne, the Duke of Portland, and Charles James Fox. The treaties were mainly shaped under Shelburne.

The capture of Earl Cornwallis and his army, Oct. 19, 1781, convinced Lord North that he could not conquer the colonies, and he must resign; but King George begged him to hold on and keep up the war. Parliament turned against the minister, and he resigned March 20, 1782. He had previously sent Digges, unofficially, to sound Adams at Amsterdam, and had sent Mr. Forth to Vergennes to see whether the restoration of Canada would

tempt France to a separate peace. Other agents than those named above were used: men who could make a suggestion which was not a real offer, and which could be disavowed. Adams was wary, and would not talk with Digges except in the presence of a witness and with leave to report to Vergennes. King George was tricky, and would talk with Shelburne secretly, not permitting him to tell the other ministers; and probably he deceived Shelburne in the same way.

Shelburne and Fox, fellow ministers, quarreled as to which should conduct the negotiation. If they were treated as colonies, they belonged to Shelburne: if as a nation, they came into Fox's department of foreign affairs. Shelburne had the bad reputation of being unreliable, deceptive. Dr. Franklin wrote Shelburne a letter as a private person: thereupon, Shelburne sent Oswald without the knowledge of the English cabinet to inquire informally upon what terms America would make peace. Franklin told him he must consult Vergennes. Oswald expected America to make peace separately. Just so Fox sent Grenville to treat with France separately. This division of counsels broke up the English cabinet, after it had led Vergennes and Franklin to suspect double-dealing and deception. Fox went out.

Jay had been summoned by Franklin from Madrid, where he was gaining nothing, to join in the negotiation at Paris. He was an acute lawyer. He was not a representative of "Thirteen colonies or plantations in North America," but of a sovereign power that had asserted its independence and proved it by war. He was told that

the treaty would recognize the fact. That would not suit him: he must be addressed as a commissioner from the United States, an existing power, not a state to be created by a concession in a treaty.

Franklin cared not for the point: he was satisfied if the main point should be gained, no matter how. Vergennes sided with Shelburne, and let him know it. Jay wrote to Adams in Holland, who sustained his point. The two lawyers knew the importance of terms. Adams suggested that the recognition might be merely incidental and not formally direct: if Oswald were directed to treat with the commissioners from the United States of America, it would be satisfactory to him. Shelburne took advantage of the simple suggestion; the parties were then ready to treat.

Jay and Franklin stated their case: they asked the things which have been named on a preceding page as the original *ultimata* of the Congress: England refused, objected, haggled, so as to give as little as she could, and put forward her claims.

The Americans demanded that the Mississippi should be their western boundary, as it had been England's boundary by the peace of 1763. The northwestern region was claimed in virtue of the conquest made by Gen. George Rogers Clarke, when Vincennes and Kaskaskia were taken, and the English possession ousted. England had no posts south of Detroit and Mackinac. Florida was then English, by possession, but with no English settlements to speak of; and it might be ceded to Spain in this negotiation. But the United States claimed

as belonging to Georgia the shore of the great river as far south as what is now the southern line of the state of Mississippi.

Spain set up a counter-claim of nearly all west of the Alleghenies, and during this negotiation sent a military expedition from St. Louis across Illinois, and built a small fort at Niles, Mich., so as to claim actual occupation. Vergennes supported Spain, and said the American claims were too extensive and unjust. Jay had been growing more and more suspicious of the ally under whose thumb the commission was placed; and although as a New Yorker he had no appreciation of the value of the West and of the navigation of the river, the value evidently put upon these by the other party changed his views.

The eastern edge of Maine was in question, but was more easily proved: so England gave up the boundary by the Kennebec or the Penobscot, and accepted the St. Croix. Franklin had met the English claims by a suggestion that England ought to give us Canada and Nova Scotia.

The right to the fisheries was especially valuable to New England, whose citizens wanted the same enjoyment of them that they had had as colonists. The English wished to curtail or deny this claim. Again Vergennes took sides against the Americans, and pronounced their claim unjust.

Another point upon which the English were very strenuous was compensation for the loyalists or tories who had been expelled, or for fear of ill-treatment, had

thought it best to emigrate. There were thousands of these in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada. The property of many of them had been confiscated by action of the states because of their loyalty to the King. They certainly had claims upon Great Britain; and that power very naturally undertook to make reclamation upon the United States. Debts due to British merchants might be refused; and their claims were joined by England with those of the loyalists. Vergennes, in these matters took the English side.

Franklin and Jay were having their hands full with all this business, and were glad when Adams was ready to join them. On the seventh of October, 1782, he had signed a treaty of amity and commerce with the United Provinces, generally called Holland, and addressed as their High Mightinesses.

On the 26th of October, Adams arrived from Holland at Paris. Both the English agents and the French negotiators were afraid of him. His sharply incisive and decisive character was well known to Vergennes, and had been reported to the English. Oswald had been doing business with Jay and Franklin. When sending him with a letter of introduction to Dr. Franklin, Shelburne had spoken of him as "A pacifical man;" he had lately concluded that he was too pacifical, too easily yielding to the Americans. He therefore joined with Oswald about this time Mr. Henry Strachey, as a better exponent of English pertinacity. His function was to stiffen Oswald, and fight stoutly the American claims.

Adams and Jay both felt the meanness of the po-

ition assigned them by the orders of Congress. While they must reveal everything to Vergennes, they found that that minister was sending secret agents to England and concealing from them his action affecting their interests. He had assigned to them the hard task of settling the Mississippi question with the Spaniard, D'Aranda, evidently intending that they should yield to him.

Should they continue to obey instructions so detrimental? Should they dare disobey? To this Franklin said, "No." Yet Franklin had twice made secret overtures to Shelburne. In a meeting of the three, Adams and Jay told Franklin their determination to proceed without informing Vergennes. Franklin's reasons were personal rather than political, because of his long intimacy with the French court; and he soon agreed with his colleagues.

The treaty-making now went on rapidly with Oswald, Vaughan and Strachey, the last-named, furnishing acidity and bitterness enough for the whole British Embassy. The boundary questions were easily arranged. Massachusetts had furnished proof of the eastern boundary of her district of Maine. The British accepted the line of the middle of the great lakes and the Mississippi, with a secret article about the southern boundary, dependent upon the final disposition of Florida. For debts it was provided on suggestion of Adams that the American courts should be open for their recovery, none being cut off by the war.

The fisheries were a subject of a long contention, made

more difficult by the fact that France was negotiating on the same subject.

Really the hardest subject was indemnity to the refugees. When all seemed to have reached agreement, Mr. Strachey left for London with a copy of the articles, but left a note saying that unless indemnity were provided, no treaty would be had. Vaughan kindly followed to counteract the influence of Strachey. He presented the reasons of the American envoys: that they had no power to bind the individual states to any line of action; that the refugees could be shown to have prolonged the war and to have done much damage; that prolonging the war on their account would cost England more than to indemnify them herself, and would be a hopeless effort. The commissioners could promise that Congress should recommend to the States a liberal treatment of the loyalists.

Earl Shelburne saw that it was vain to continue the war; that Ireland was a source of danger; that the mood of the king was very uncertain; that his tenure of office was precarious. He must have the peace; policy and judgment both demanding it. He sent back Strachey, and Fitzherbert with him, to make peace. Mr. Laurens, freed from the Tower on parole, had joined the commission. Strachey returned Nov. 25th, in ill humor: but the four days' discussion on the fisheries ended in the adoption of Mr. Adams's article with slight changes; and on Saturday, Nov. 30th, 1782, exactly five weeks from the day when Adams returned to Paris, the preliminary treaty was signed, and peace was assured.

Doubtless Vergennes was observant and shrewd enough to know that the Americans were pushing their own treaty; nor did he object when they told him what was done. But some fifteen days later, when he met with some difficulty in his own negotiations, he suddenly suspected that the United States would join England against France. He accused the envoys of bad faith; they were bound to make no treaty except in union with France. They easily defended themselves, since they had stipulated that their treaty should not become valid until France and England had agreed: they merely had their part ready. He also complained to Congress about their secrecy, and failure to consult him. The commissioners were justly incensed when they received a rebuke from Robert R. Livingston, who was in charge of foreign affairs, who, instead of praising them for their skill and perseverance and good achievements, found fault with them for doing well, without French supervision. Livingston apologized to Vergennes, and told him of the secret article, which did not relate to France at all.

The commissioners were rightly angry, and prepared a sharp and long reply by Mr. Jay; but it was not sent. Adams wrote that the conduct of Congress was infamous. But he suppressed his wrath, and remained at his post, though very homesick. As soon as the definitive treaty was assured, he sent his resignation Dec. 4th, 1782, and joyfully wrote to his wife that he should soon be at home, in spring or early summer: he would come home even if his resignation were not accepted. But he found he must wait; and in September, 1783, the same three were ap-

pointed to make a commercial treaty with England.

But he was worn out, and broke down with a fever. Sir James Jay, physician and friend, cared for him, and sent him to

England Oct.

24th. He had

had the hon-

or and pleas-

ure of sign-

ing the final

treaty of

peace, Sept.

3d, and hoped

to rest in

England. He

was in the

Parliament

when George

III publicly

confessed his

defeat and

the indepen-

dence of the

revolted col-

onies. The

necessities of

the public credit obliged him to make a voyage to

Holland in the winter through hardships severe for a

well man. He now sent for his wife and daughter, who

came in the summer of 1784.



Mrs. Wm. S. Smith (Abigail Adams) daughter of John Adams.
From the Painting by Copley. By courtesy of
D Appleton & Co.

Congress next made Adams, Franklin and Jefferson a commission to make commercial treaties with any or all powers. Prussia was the first to accept the offer. Mr. Adams had taken a house near Paris. But Feb. 24, 1785, Congress appointed him the first minister of the United States to Great Britain. Vergennes congratulated him saying, "It is a mark." But it was also a great task. The Duke of Dorset, minister to France, said to him, "You will be stared at a great deal." "I fear they will gaze with evil eyes," replied Mr. Adams. The duke, with more courtesy than truthfulness, said they would not.

Mr. Adams was presented to the king in a private audience, June 1st, 1785, by the Marquis of Carmarthen. Naturally he felt some nervousness and embarrassment. The king had heard that Adams had lost confidence in the French court, and alluded to this slightly, but spoke of the common blood and the common language. Adams assented to the drift of the king's language, but ended his reply with the sentence, "I avow to your majesty that I have no attachment but to my own country." The king seemed pleased with this sturdy patriotism.

When Adams demanded the fulfillment of the treaty of 1783, and the evacuation of Mackinac, Detroit, and other posts, he was reminded that the states had not regarded the treaty, had hindered the collection of debts; and when he proposed a commercial treaty, he was told that the states made their own tariffs. A policy of repression of American trade was adopted.

Mr. Adams saw that he was doing no good, and sent

in his resignation, which was accepted Oct. 5th, 1787, and he left England April 20, 1788, thoroughly disgusted with England, France and diplomatic service.

Up to this time no man save Washington had rendered as much service to his country as Adams had given; no other had gained equal results; no one had excelled him in political knowledge and ability, foresight, patience, perseverance, endurance and daring in times of crisis. In recognition of such qualities and services, his countrymen in organizing under the new constitution placed him as alternate to Washington, Vice President of the United States.

The election to the Vice Presidency was not altogether pleasant to Mr. Adams, not because of any aspiration for the highest place, but because, while Washington was elected unanimously, Adams did not have a majority of the votes cast. As the constitution then stood, electors put two names on their ballots without specifying which person was meant for president: if two had the same number, the House of Representatives should choose between them. Seeing the possibility of such an ambiguous election, Hamilton suggested that some of the electors should throw their votes aside from Adams, whose election was expected.

Unfortunately, no concert being possible, thirty-five electors threw their votes away as compliments to ten persons, leaving only thirty-four for Adams, who said, writing to a friend, "I have seen the utmost delicacy used towards others, but my feelings have never been regarded."

It did seem hard, when he returned to his native country, for which he had done and suffered so much, to find that he was not appreciated as he thought he should be. From that time he and Hamilton were often in conflict.

When the constitution was proposed, two parties arose at once, those who favored the adoption of it, called Federalists, and those opposed to it, called Anti-Federalists, until they organized as Republicans or Democratic Republicans. Generally those who had opposed the constitution feared that the central government would encroach on the rights of the states or of the people: they took the name Republicans or Democratic Republicans, or were called Democrats.

Ten days before the inauguration of Washington, Mr. Adams was installed as Vice President, April 20, 1789, and began to preside over the Senate, at New York. That body was almost equally divided between Federalists and Republicans, so that the first Vice President had to give the casting vote no less than twenty times during the sessions of the first Congress and nine times during the second. No other presiding officer of that body has had such experience. He did not decide as a Federalist partisan, but always on what he deemed the merits of the question. Some very important questions were thus decided by him.

Mr. Adams rather despised an office which gave him so little to do, and in which he was obliged to listen to debates without sharing in them. He must often have seen that a little of his knowledge and of his logic would

clear a befogged matter. He wrote to his wife Dec. 19th, 1793, "My country has in its wisdom contrived for me the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived. And as I can do neither good nor evil, I must be borne away by others and meet the common fate." But he undervalued his place. He had a long rest from labor and responsibility; and Washington often consulted him on public affairs as if he had been a member of the cabinet.

In 1792 Washington was again elected unanimously, and Adams had the full vote of the Federal party, seventy seven votes; George Clinton of New York had the votes of four states, and Jefferson of one; total, fifty-four.

With the most of the important events of Washington's administrations, Mr. Adams had no connection. Washington was of the Federalist policy, but took into his cabinet the two strongest available men, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, who soon became the heads of the two opposing parties. He was not able to hold them both as his secretaries; in fact, both resigned.

When it was settled that Washington would not accept the presidency a third time, Hamilton began scheming to push Adams aside.

Adams thoroughly disliked Hamilton, who returned the feeling as strongly. Adams's expressions in a letter to Knox were more extravagant than a cooler mood would have allowed. It is not fair to deduce "some of his traits" from such a passionate utterance, any more than it would be to judge Washington from what he said to Lee at Monmouth, or from his curses upon St. Clair.

Mr. Adams was elected by seventy-one electoral votes over Jefferson's sixty-eight. He had solitary votes from Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and even from Virginia, the rest of the votes of those states going to Jefferson. Had two of these been given to Jefferson, they would have elected him. The republicans sneered at Adams as the president of three votes. Jefferson became Vice President. When news of the election made it look as if the election might go into the House, he said he wished his old friend Adams to win.

Washington was tired of the office, and longed to be free. He had been sorely abused, "in terms," says Schouler, "scarcely applicable to a Nero, a defaulter, or a common pickpocket." An anti-Federal paper called him a fool. A paper in Philadelphia published by B. F. Bache, a grandson of Franklin, was very virulent in its attacks upon Washington both as President and as a man. He was charged with misusing the public funds for his own advantage. Forged letters got up by the Tories in 1776, in which he was said to have expressed himself against independence and Congress, were republished as genuine. It was said that ten thousand people were threatening to drag him out of his house and make him resign or favor France.

Jefferson employed in his department a clerk, Freneau, who was editor of an abusive paper. "*The Aurora*" rejoiced that Washington's career was ended, saying that he had carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence."

Washington at a cabinet meeting broke down in a

transport of "indignation and grief at the personal abuse heaped upon him."

If the Republicans so abused Washington, whom we venerate, what would they not say against John Adams? Poor Adams, if not really more sensitive than Washington, seemed to be so, and could not conceal his irritation and wrath. That delighted his tormentors the more. It was an age of coarse vituperation, as well as of bitter political hatreds and groundless suspicions.

The folly of George III had made monarchy hateful. As the aristocracy of England had, with a few exceptions, supported the usurpations of the king, Aristocracy was the second bugbear, hiding in every bush. Blank equality was the rage. A society like the Grand Army of the Republic would have been an evident threat of a standing army and of the downfall of liberty. Legislation to prohibit it would have been enacted in every state.

The officers of the army that had won independence formed a society, the Cincinnati, with the right of membership hereditary. That was founding an order of nobility. Public opinion frowned upon the innocent association, and it almost withered away.

Seeing the quarrel between Hamilton, the actual leader of the Federalists, and Adams, the executive chief whom they had elected, the Republicans seemed to have thought that he might be detached from the Federal party.

The French Revolution exerted great influence upon American feeling and policy. At first, all parties were hopeful of a genuine reform in France, and a govern-

ment with at least a good measure of freedom. But when the rule of a mob replaced the autocracy of the king, and cold-blooded butcheries were perpetrated in the name of liberty, there was a great revulsion of feeling. France and England were soon at war. Washington proclaimed neutrality; but the French ambassador, Genet, acted as if this country belonged to him, and undertook to fit out war vessels in our ports. He gave Washington great trouble.

The Republicans sympathized more with the French, and were against England, which continued its haughty abuse of our country till after the fall of Napoleon. They called the Federalists a British party. The retort upon them was that they favored anarchy and barbarity. France claimed the benefit of the treaty of alliance of 1778; and when Washington proclaimed neutrality, she proclaimed blockades, and began to seize American ships. We really were for months at war with France.

Fortunately for us, *Ambassador* Adams had freed himself from all notion of obligation to that country that had helped the United Colonies only to gratify a grudge against an ancient enemy; and he had had such an unpleasant experience in England that he had no prepossession now for what had been "The mother-country." Hence, *President* Adams could keep the ship of state on the course of impartial neutrality.

President Adams committed one great mistake in policy. Washington had found difficulty in getting suitable persons to follow Jefferson, Hamilton and Knox, when they resigned from his cabinet. He had offered

the Secretaryship of State to Wm. Patterson, Thomas Johnson, C. C. Pinckney and Patrick Henry, all of whom declined it: he had then put Timothy Pickering, former Postmaster-General and then secretary of war, into the place: Carrington and Howard of Maryland refusing the portfolio of the war department, he gave that to Mc Henry, and advanced Oliver Wolcott to the Treasury. Pickering, Wolcott and Mc Henry were really only second or third rate men, worth little as advisers. Adams did not try to make a new cabinet, but continued these in office.

The worst of the matter was that instead of looking to their chief for direction, they looked for orders to Hamilton as the head of the party, and tried to bend Adams to Hamilton's purposes. They wrote Hamiltonian papers for him to sign, and proposed Hamiltonian nominations. The consequence was that after enduring much discourtesy and even insolence from them, in an explosion of indignation he dismissed Mc Henry and Pickering, who became bitter and treacherous enemies. But he never knew how much all three had betrayed him.

Seeing the probability of war, Adams did all he could to increase the army and especially the navy, but with only moderate success. It was one of the mistakes of the Republicans to scant these arms of defense.

President Adams determined to make a treaty with fractious France, and consulted with Jefferson, whom he would have sent as minister, had they not both agreed that such function was unsuitable for a Vice President. Madison would not go with Hamilton as colleague. Adams was evidently no narrow partisan. In the face of warm

opposition of his secretaries, Pickering and Wolcott, he sent Marshall and C. C. Pinckney, Federalists, and Gerry, Republican.

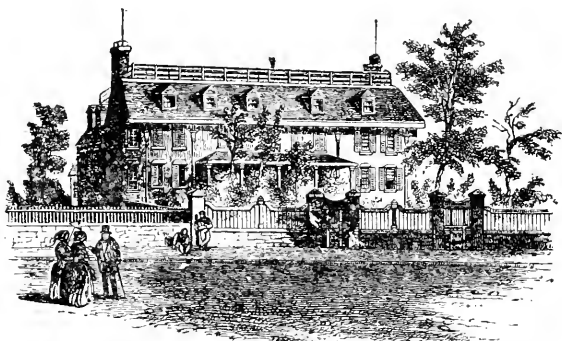
They were received, but were soon informed that to get a treaty they must furnish certain sums of money as bribes and loans. Talleyrand was their foreign minister for the Directory. Pinckney answered quickly, "not a cent, not a cent;" and after his return, at a dinner, gave the famous sentiment, "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute." Gerry remained after the others left, because Talleyrand told him France would declare war if he left. Immediately, further wrongs were inflicted on our commerce.

The President reported the failure to Congress, and advised that preparations for war be pushed. Jefferson hated war as if he had been trained as a Quaker. His party in Congress opposed the preparations for war. The correspondence of the envoys was called for. They had obtained memoranda of the requirement of bribes and tribute in writing. The president put the letters X, Y and Z in place of the names of the agents, Hottinguer, Bellamy and Hautval, and sent the whole disgraceful story to Congress. A tempest of anger arose in all the land. War was demanded. Support was promised on all sides.

The president was overwhelmed with evidences of popularity. But he was as little shaken by this as by opposition. He was not ready for war, and would not recommend it. He recalled Gerry, and said he would not send another minister till he had assurance that he

would be received with honor. Washington was named to command the army with the new rank of Lieutenant-General, and, at his request, Adams nominated for generals next in rank, Hamilton, C. C. Pinckney and Knox, which led to a squabble for precedence.

In the midst of this flurry were passed the famous Alien and Sedition laws.



Home of John Adams, Quincy, Mass., where he passed the last years of his life.

If the Alien Act had been passed in Washington's time, he would have used it to get rid of Genet, no doubt. The worst of the act is that it gave the president an irresponsible power to act as judge and jury and executive if any alien seemed to him obnoxious, and to send such person out of the country. The reader will be reminded of Lincoln's action in May, 1863, when he sent Vallandigham, convicted of disloyal utterances, into the territory held by the Confederate States. Adams never used the Alien Law.

The Sedition law forbade the publication of any writ-

ing "false, scandalous and malicious," with intent to defame the government, Congress, or the president, or to bring them into contempt or disrepute. This was so worded that it might be used against reasonable political discussion. A few prosecutions occurred under it. Mr. Adams did not ask for or recommend these acts; but he is so far responsible for them as this; when they were enacted by his party, he did not veto them.

When Talleyrand indicated to the American minister at the Hague through the French minister there, that an American envoy would be honorably received, Adams overruled the opposition of his Hamiltonian secretaries, and in defiance of the Federal majority of the Senate named a peace commission to go to France that they dared not reject; Ellsworth, Murray and Patrick Henry. War was averted and peace made; but work on the navy continued.

The cabinet tried to delay the departure of the commission: his peremptory orders overruled them. This quarrel disrupted his party, and prevented a re-election for him: but he had acted nobly for his country. He very soon disposed of Pickering and McHenry, forcing them to resign.

There had been seditious opposition to the laws in Eastern Pennsylvania; John Fries was twice tried for treason, found guilty, and sentenced to death: Pickering and other leaders in the party were anxious to have the exemplary penalty inflicted; but the president pardoned Fries and his associates, greatly to the disgust of the extremists. Fries has the distinction of being the

only man ever convicted of treason in the United States.

Like most presidents, John Adams desired re-election. Jefferson was a very radical theorist; but with the errors and the successes of the twelve years before him, he was shrewd enough to drop his anarchic theories, his nullifying doctrines, his overstrained literal interpretations of the constitution and to make himself a practical ruler. But what he had said and done had made the conservative portion of the community afraid of him. Adams had a very respectable vote, sixty-five out of the 138 votes, Jefferson having seventy-three: a change of five votes would have elected Adams. But the Federal party was hopelessly disorganized.

On the twentieth of January, 1801, Ellsworth having resigned the position of Chief Justice, and Jay having declined the place, Adams had appointed his Secretary of State, John Marshall, to be Chief Justice. Had Adams done nothing else for his country, this selection of the greatest and most influential jurist America has known should be gratefully remembered. Federalist interpretations, giving strength and dignity to the national government, flowed from Marshall's brain and pen, years after the bodies of Adams and Jefferson were dust, and the old party contests had been merged in the "Era of Good Feeling."

Federalist leaders in Congress lent themselves to the silly and wicked scheme of electing Burr instead of Jefferson, since the electoral vote was tied between them. As they had been friends during the canvass, Jefferson sought Adams to ask his favorable influence. Adams

was feeling sore over his defeat, and instead of saying "yes," began to ask Jefferson to pledge himself to certain measures. Of course he rightly and proudly refused, and the two parted in anger. Adams is censurable for his irritable conduct of the last weeks of his term.

Early in the morning of the inauguration day, with heart saddened by the death of his son Charles, he was so discourteous as to leave the city of Washington and avoid the inauguration of his rival, long his friend. Not long before he had said to Jefferson in all good humor and sincerity, "If you beat me in the Presidency, I will be as faithful a subject as any you will have."

At home in Quincy the tired and sad old man amused himself with reading and study, and correspondence. He began an autobiography, which he left incomplete. This and his letters often make severe judgments upon others. He could not observe the maxim which gives title to one of Reade's novels, "Put Yourself in his Place." The very intensity and earnestness that had made him so valuable in the earlier part of his career appear as stubborn impracticability in the later. He was gloomy, now that he could no longer enjoy the battle of life.

He saw with pleasure the advancement of his son, and his election to the Presidency. When he was eighty-five years old his townsmen elected him to a State convention for the revision of the constitution. The convention elected him its president; but the infirmities of age compelled him to decline the post. He was a presi-

dential elector in 1820, and voted for Monroe. His dear wife was taken from him by a fever, Oct. 28th, 1818, when he was eighty-three years old; but he lived on until he was well along in his ninety first year. It is pleasant to record that his friendship with Jefferson was renewed. Jefferson made advances through Mrs. Adams; but his proud spirit was not appeased. Dr. Rush became the medium of a reconciliation.

They had come, indeed, upon common ground. The ad-

ministration of Jefferson had from the first deserted his ultrasims. He was glad to use the power Federalism had framed. Swearing to observe the constitution, he believed that he had broken its plain sense by annexing the Louisiana Territory, a measure such as would have cost Adams no questioning.



John Quincy Adams.

Son of John Adams, and Sixth President of the United States. Born 1767. Died 1848.

So the two old men, friends again, approached the fiftieth anniversary of the great act in which they had so grandly shared. It proved the last day for each of them. Adams's mind was clear to the end. He died at sunset, Tuesday, July 4th, 1826. It is said that his last words were, "Jefferson still survives." He was wrong: Jefferson had died in the morning of that day.

John Adams's remains were buried in a tomb under the portico of the First Congregational (Unitarian) Church of Quincy. In the body of the church, by the side of the pulpit, at the preacher's right,* is a marble tablet, seven feet by four, on which is chiseled a memorial of the statesman and of his wife. It is surmounted by Greenough's bust of the ex-president. Under that the first line is his favorite motto, "*Libertatem, amicitiam, fidem, retinebis*"—Liberty, friendship, faith, thou wilt hold fast. Overlooking his personal defects, the judgment of the ages will pronounce him in service to his country second only to Washington.

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF JOHN ADAMS.

ADAMS'S RULES.

Here is the rule which, with Adams's natural abilities, made him a great lawyer and a great statesman:

"Rise and mount your horse by the morning's dawn, and shake away, amidst the great and beautiful scenes of nature that appear at that time of day, all the crudities that are left in your stomach, and all the obstructions that are left in your brains. Then return to your

studies, and bend your whole soul to the institutes of the law and the reports of cases that have been adjusted by the rules of the institutes. Let no trifling diversion or amusement or company decoy you from your books: *i. e.*, no girl, no gun, no cards, no flutes, no violins, no dress, no tobacco, no laziness."

ADAMS AND FRANKLIN.

When Adams went to meet Lord Howe, he had to sleep one night in bed with Franklin in a small room. Adams wanted the window shut: Franklin wanted it open. Adams yielded: Franklin expounded to him his theory that no one ever takes cold from exposure to cold air. He says that Franklin, according to his own physician, died of a cold caught by his sitting some hours in a draft from a window.

ADAMS AS A FIGHTING MARINE.

During Adams's first voyage, his vessel encountered the British privateer "*Martha*," which the "*Boston*" captured after a short action. One cannon shot passed over Adams's head as he stood on the quarter deck. Commodore Tucker found him on deck, musket in hand, firing like a common marine, ordered him to go below, and passed on. Several minutes later he still found him firing his musket. "Why are you here, sir?" cried the Commodore; "I am commanded by the Continental Congress to carry you in safety to Europe, and I will do it." He seized the minister to France in his arms and forced him away.

ADAMS AND MANSFIELD.

In 1783, while still negotiating the peace, Adams was in London. His friend Copley procured for him from the great judge, Lord Mansfield, a place in the House of Lords to hear the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, and to witness the introduction of the Prince of Wales, then arrived at the age of twenty-one. While he stood waiting in the lobby, among a hundred of the first people of the kingdom, "Sir Francis Molineux, the gentleman usher of the black rod, appeared suddenly in the room with his long staff, and roared out with a very loud voice, 'Where is Mr. Adams, Lord Mansfield's friend?' I frankly avowed myself Lord Mansfield's friend, and was politely conducted by Sir Francis to my place. A gentleman said to me the next day, 'How short a time has passed since I heard that same Lord Mansfield say in that same House of Lords—My Lords, if you do not kill him, he will kill you!' Mr. West said to me that this was one of the finest finishings in the picture of American independence."

Lord Mansfield had not said this of Mr. Adams individually, but of the Americans collectively: "If you do not kill them," etc. This was on Dec. 20th, 1775.

ADAMS'S COMMON PLACE BOOK.

When Mr. Adams was about twenty years old, he began a common place book, entering in it extracts from his reading. The first entry in it was a maxim in Greek verse, ascribed to "Pythagoras:"

Let sleep not close my languid eyes
Till thrice the day has been reviewed:
I've traveled where? I've done what work?
What duty have I left undone?

This maxim was followed by the eminent German physician, Hufeland (1762-1836), who asked himself every night, "What have I learned to-day?"

ADAMS'S DIARY.

Mr. Adams began a diary at the same time, in which he entered his notes of the day, his feelings, his impressions of persons and events. Pressure of business often interrupted it for long periods. His son, John Quincy, did the same. Much of these documents has been published, making valuable historical material.

ADAMS IN ENGLAND.

When Mr. Adams was appointed minister of the United States at the English court, one of the foreign ambassadors at Paris said to him, "You have been often in England?" "Never but once, in November and December, 1783." "You have relations in England, no doubt?" "None at all." "None? How can that be? You are of English extraction." "Neither my father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, great-grandfather or great-grandmother, nor any other relation that I know of, or care a farthing for, has been in England, these one hundred and fifty years; so that you see I have not one drop of blood in my veins but what is American." "Age, we have seen proof enough of that." "This flattered me, no doubt," Mr. Adams adds, "and I was vain enough to be pleased with it."

THE STORY OF JOHN ADAMS.

FOR A SCHOOL OR CLUB PROGRAMME.

Each numbered paragraph is to be given to a pupil or member to read, or to recite, in a clear, distinct tone.

If the school or club is small, each person may take three or four paragraphs, but should not be required to recite them in succession.

1. John Adams was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. He was descended from worthy ancestors, who were among the founders of the province in which he was born.

2. His father was a farmer in plain circumstances, but a man who had received a college education as the only legacy from his father. He determined that John should have the best college education that could be afforded.

3. His mother's name was Susanna Boylston, the daughter of Peter Boylston, of Brookline, Massachusetts.

4. Both of his parents were possessed of admirable traits of character, and were earnest and exemplary in their religious lives.

5. John Adams says that at the first he did not take much interest in his books, and thus disappointed the expectation of his parents who had designed him for a clergyman's life.

6. A change of tutors made an entire change in the boy's inclinations, and he began eagerly to study. He entered Harvard College in 1751, and was graduated in 1755, taking a high position in his class.

7. Having to make his own way in the world, he began by teaching in the public school in the town of Worcester. His salary was very small, which required of him the utmost carefulness in his expenditures.

8. Preferring the study of law to that of the ministry, he prepared himself for his profession under the guidance of Mr. Putnam.

9. By diligent attention to his studies he became one of the most thoroughly informed members of the bar in New England.

10. In October, 1758, he was admitted to practice in the Superior Court in Boston, and for several years had to struggle like many young lawyers to gain practice.

11. The first legal case he undertook was decided against him, which greatly mortified him.

12. In 1761 he heard the splendid argument of James Otis

against the "Writs of Assistance," which made a vivid impression upon his mind.

13. On the 25th of October, 1764, he married Abigail Smith, the second daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth. She was a woman of great beauty, strong intelligence, and sterling moral excellencies. To her more than to any one else he owed the great success of his after life.

14. His fellow townsmen of Braintree honored him with the positions of Surveyor of the Highways, Selectman and Assessor, and Overseer of the Poor. The duties of these offices he performed with vigor and fidelity. Faithful in the least he was afterwards to become faithful in much.

15. Mr. Adams became one of the leaders of the patriot party by arguing for the sittings of the Courts of Massachusetts, which Chief Justice Hutchinson had refused to hold, because they disregarded the Stamp Act.

16. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., defended, in the face of great opposition, the officers and soldiers concerned in the Boston Massacre, which occurred on the 5th of March, 1770. It was a brave and noble act for these two men to do.

17. In June, 1770, Mr. Adams was elected a delegate from Boston to the General Court, he having made that city his home. The patriots needed just such a man as Mr. Adams with his legal knowledge and ability as their counselor and guide.

18. While delegate he rendered important services by antagonizing Governor Hutchinson, and afterwards secured the impeachment of Chief Justice Oliver who was bent on destroying the liberties of the colonies.

19. He took his seat as delegate to the first Continental Congress in September, 1774, and became at once one of its recognized leaders.

20. He was returned as delegate to the second Congress in May, 1775, and nominated Washington as commander-in-chief.

21. He returned home in December, 1775, to accept the position of Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and to serve as member of the Provincial Council.

22. Early in 1776 the Council having elected him a delegate to Congress to serve during the year, he went back in February to Philadelphia and exerted a profound influence in that body and throughout the whole country.

23. He succeeded in inducing Congress to advise the colonies to institute governments of their own in place of the royal government which had ceased to exist.

24. On the fifteenth of May Mr. Adams seconded the resolution of Richard Henry Lee for the independence of the colonies, which was adopted by a bare majority of one.

25. He was appointed on the committee to prepare a declaration, which, when presented, he defended in a masterly and convincing manner.

26. His efforts so impressed Jefferson that he styled Mr. Adams "The Colossus of Independence" on the floor of Congress.

27. Mr. Adams was a member of the committee on relations with foreign powers, and was also at the head of the Board of War.

28. He also served as a member of over one hundred different committees, and was chairman of at least twenty-five.

29. He exerted all his powers to give efficient aid to the army, and was the inspiring spirit in organizing a naval force, which was always a cherished feature of his national system.

30. He was appointed in November, 1777, by Congress, to replace Silas Deane, to secure an alliance with France, in response to the demand, "*We want one man of inflexible integrity on the embassy.*"

31. He returned home on the second of August, 1779, having performed his arduous and perplexing duties with great tact and discretion.

32. While assisting in framing a new Constitution for Massachusetts, he was appointed on the 27th of September, 1779, one of the commissioners to help negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain.

33. While in Paris waiting for the movements of that power, he had a controversy with Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which Dr. Franklin became involved.

34. The matter was ultimately referred to Congress, which, by a formal vote, approved the course of Mr. Adams.

35. He secured, on the 10th of April, 1782, as minister plenipotentiary, a recognition by Holland of the independence of the United States, and afterwards a large loan for the benefit of the government.

36. He helped conduct, with John Jay and Benjamin Franklin, the peace negotiations with Great Britain to a successful issue, which were definitely completed in September, 1783.

37. He afterwards assisted in negotiating commercial treaties with the different nations of Europe, and heard King George announce to Parliament his recognition of the independence of the United States.

38. Mr. Adams was appointed on the 14th of February, 1785, minister in the Court of St. James. George the Third committed another stupendous blunder, which was repeated by his Court, in treating Mr. Adams with frigid politeness and cold distrust.

39. Returning to Boston in 1788, he gave his cordial support to the constitution then under discussion by the States.

40. In the election of 1789, he was unanimously chosen Vice President of the United States. The office often permitted him to exercise a controlling influence upon public affairs.

41. And on the refusal of Washington to serve a third term he was elected President in 1796, and inaugurated at Philadelphia on the 4th of March, 1797.

42. During his term of office the famous measures known as the "Alien and Sedition Acts" were passed.

43. Although Mr. Adams's participation in these laws, which were aimed mainly at French malcontents in the country, was confined to his official signature, it prevented his election the second time as President.

44. During his administration a navy was created in anticipation of a war with France, the beginning of our glorious naval force which has rendered such splendid service in the Spanish-American war.

45. For twenty-five years after his retirement from the Presidency, Mr. Adams lived a peaceful life in his New England home. Sorrow and joy were, however, his portion.

46. On the 28th of October, 1818, his wife, who had been the strong support of his life, was called away. In 1825, when nearly ninety years of age, he heard of the election of his son, John Quincy Adams, as President of the United States, by the House of Representatives.

47. On the 4th of July, 1826, the celebration at Quincy was going on, and the ringing cheers to the toast for the day, which Mr. Adams had presented on the 30th of June—"Independence Forever"—were plainly heard by those who were watching the dying statesman.

48. His lips moved. Bending over him his attendants caught the words, "Thomas Jefferson still lives." It was not so. His great co-worker in the cause of independence had just before preceded him to the life beyond.

PROGRAMME FOR A JOHN ADAMS EVENING.

1. Music.
 2. Essay—Brief Sketch of Adams's Career.
 3. Brief Papers—"Adams in France," "Adams in Holland."
- Discussion.
4. Music—Vocal or Instrumental.
 5. Brief Sketches—"Adams and Hamilton," "Adams and Jefferson."
- Discussion.
6. Music.
 7. Brief Sketch—"Alien and Sedition Acts."
 8. Recitation—"From Speeches of John Adams."
 9. Music.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW.

What is said regarding the supremacy of one mind? Of the constitution of a State? What is the story of the County officers? What does it illustrate? What become of the old jail? The new structure?

What is said of ancient Greece? Of Solon? Of modern States? Of the elements in our daily life? To what are republics suited? What has been the history of France? Of Switzerland? To what should these facts lead us? What is the influence of small communities on republics?

What is said of the Constitution of 1788? Of the founders? Of the caution to be borne in mind? Of patriotism? Of feeling and opinion? Of Washington?

What lessons should republicans and democrats learn? What is said of the early patriots who had different opinions? Of John Adams? Of Henry Adams? Of his ancestors? Of his estate? Of the effect of Nature upon the New Englander? Of Calvin's system? Of Braintree? Of Joseph Adams and family? Whom did President Adams's father marry? When was John Adams born? When and where graduated? To what profession destined? Who were some of his classmates? What was the custom regarding rank in College?

What is said of Adams's early life? Of the year of his graduation, etc.? Of the struggles of different religious sects?

What does Adams say of his perplexity in choosing his vocation, etc.? Of Puritan standards and theology, etc.? Of Adams contrasted with other statesmen? Of self-reliance and self-esteem?

Of Mr. Adams's law studies, etc.? Of Adams's profits as a lawyer? Whom did Mr. Adams marry? What is said of the marriage? Of Mr. Adams's devotion to his profession? Of Adams and Otis? Of Adams and March 5, 1774? Of the Stamp Act and Mr. Adams? Of his associates, etc.?

Of Chief Justice Oliver? Of the Boston Tea Party? Of John Adams as compared with Samuel Adams and others? Of the resolution of resistance, etc.? Of the response of the colonies? Of the Continental Congress? Of Parliament? Of the love of personal liberty?

Of the Feudal system? Of fines? Of the king and the raising of money? Of King John and the Magna Charta, etc.? Of George III and his mother? His ministers and Pitt, etc.?

What is said of North, etc.? Of the resistance of the commercial States? Of the journey of the delegates from Massachusetts? Of Virginia and Massachusetts? Of the committee on which Mr. Adams served? Of the Declaration of Rights?

Of the control of the Congress? Of the action of the Congress, etc.? Of the suggestion of the Provincial Congress? Of a commander-in-chief, etc.?

Of the points gained by Adams? Of Mr. Adams's confidential letters, etc.? Of his estimate of Dickinson, Hancock? Of their effects? Of Dickinson's Olive Branch?

What instructions were given by Massachusetts? How did Adams find the Congress? What did he prophesy? What did Paine write? What did Adams say regarding the acts of Congress? What were the difficulties of the situation?

Who determined to popularize the local government? How are the Hamiltonian and Jeffersonian systems compared? What is said of Adams and Lee, etc.? What committee was appointed May 25th? What resolutions were adopted June 17th? What movement began May 6th? What preamble was adopted May 15th? What was its effect, etc.? What is said of the debate on Lee's resolution?

What document was reported June 26th? To whom had its preparation been referred? Who wrote it? What is said of the debate upon it? What did Adams write to his wife in the successive paragraphs of the sketch, etc.? What is said of Adams's supreme effort? Of the sessions of the Second Continental Congress? Of his work on committees? Of the one on which he served unwillingly?

Of the conduct of the business of the Congress? Of the jealousies, prevailing? Of the want of appreciation of Washington? Of Washington's rank among men? Of the denial of hostility by Adams towards Washington, etc.?

What was Mr. Adams commissioned to do? What was his object in going to Amsterdam? What was the character of the French minister? In what way were our commissioners humiliated? What did the Americans demand should be their western boundary? What was Spain's counter claim? What can you say of negotiations concerning the fisheries? What was the most difficult subject with which they had to deal? When was the final treaty of peace signed?

What is said of Adams as minister to England and of his services? Of his election as Vice President? Of his estimate of the office? Of Adams and Hamilton? Of the abuse of Washington?

What happened when Adams demanded the fulfillment of the treaty of 1783? When and why did he resign? When was he installed as Vice President? Which party abused both Washington and Adams? What influence did the French Revolution have upon American feeling and policy? What great mistake in policy was committed by President Adams? Under what circumstances were the famous Alien and Sedition laws passed? What did the Sedition law forbid? What opposition was made to the law in Eastern Pennsylvania?

What can you say of the Federal party during the administration of John Adams? What can you say of Jefferson in this connection? What effect did his election to the Presidency have upon the Federal party? What did the Federalists undertake to do in the closing days of their power?

What can you say of the appointment of Chief Justice Marshall? What can you say of the writings of Adams? How did the reconciliation between Jefferson and Adams come about? What can you say of the death of these two men? What was the favorite motto of John Adams?

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The Puritan Character.*
 2. *John Adams and Samuel Adams Compared.*
 3. *The Feudal System.*
 4. *Character of George III.*
 5. *The Continental Congress.*
 6. *The Influence of the Quakers.*
 7. *The Different Colonial Governments.*
 8. *John Dickinson.*
 9. *Magna Charta.*
 10. *Samuel Chase.*
 11. *The Various Commissions Appointed by the United States Government During this Period.*
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CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN ADAMS.

- 1735 Oct. 19. John Adams born at Braintree (Quincy), Mass. Spent his early youth on his father's farm.
- 1755 Graduated at Harvard College. Became schoolteacher at Worcester.
- 1756 Aug. 23. Began to study law while teaching.
- 1758 Oct. Came to Boston. Nov. 6, admitted to the bar; recommended by Gridley, leading lawyer of the colony.
- 1761 Heard Otis's speech on Writs of Assistance.
- 1764 Oct. 25. Married Abigail Smith, of Weymouth, clergyman's daughter.
- 1765 Dec. 18. Boston chooses Adams as colleague with Gridley and Otis for argument before the Governor and Council, Dec. 20.
- 1768 Moved to Boston. Gov. Bernard offers him post of Advocate-General in the Admiralty Court. He refuses it.
- 1770 March 5, "Boston Massacre." March 6, Adams and Josiah Quincy retained as counsel for Capt. Preston and the soldiers. June 3, elected Representative for Boston. Oct. 24-30, Preston tried and acquitted.
- 1771 In ill health: removes to Braintree. Despondent. Office in Boston.
- 1772 In autumn, removed to Boston: determines to avoid politics.
- 1774 June 17, elected one of the five representatives of Massachusetts in the First Continental Congress, Philadelphia, Sept. 1. Active on committees and in debates. Starts for home on Nov. 28.
- 1775 May 5-10, journey to Second Congress. Opposes Dickinson's "Olive-Branch;" still dares not say "independence!" Urges

- adoption of Army and appointment of Washington; effected June 15. Home in August: in Congress, Sept. 15: on many committees. Home, Dec. Appointed Chief Justice of Massachusetts: accepted: never served.
- 1776 Jan. 24-Feb. 8, to Philadelphia with Gerry. May 6-15, new State governments advised: Adams assists in making constitutions. June 28, committee on Declaration reports it: July 3, Adams leads debate on it. Work of organization of business. Conference with Lord Howe, Sept. 11. Went home, Oct. 13.
- 1777 In Congress till Nov. 11. Dec. 3, receives appointment, Commissioner to France.
- 1778 Feb. 13, sails from Boston: March 31, reaches Bordeaux: at Paris, April 8. Organizes the work of the commission.
- 1779 June 17-Aug. 2, voyage home. Elected to Massachusetts convention, Aug. 9: serves from opening, Sept. 1 to Nov. 10. Chosen envoy to make peace with England, Sept. 27: commission dated Oct. 20: accepted Nov. 4. Sailed in French frigate Nov. 13. Reached Ferrol Dec. 8.
- 1780 In Paris, Feb. 5, with sons, John Q. and Charles. Controversy with Vergennes, middle of June. To Holland, July 27. Publishes information about the United States. Thanks of Congress, Dec. 12.
- 1781 Jan. 1, commissioned plenipotentiary to Holland. To Paris, July 6: soon returns: continues work in Holland.
- 1782 April 19, Holland recognizes independence; Adams received as minister. Loans obtained: commercial treaty obtained, Oct. 7. Negotiation with England begins March 11: with Oswald as agent, April 6: Adams joins Jay and Franklin in Paris, Oct. 25. They disobey orders of Congress and negotiate without Vergennes. Nov. 30, agreement reached and signed. Dec. 4, Adams sends resignation; not accepted. Commissioners are provoked and disgusted by Livingston's censure.
- 1783 Jan. 20, commissioners and English agree on truce. Final treaty Sept. 3. Sept., Adams appointed with Jefferson and Franklin to make commercial treaty with England. Sept. 14, Adams ill: to England for rest and health, Oct. 24: in London, Oct. 26. Dec., to Holland.
- 1784 Same commissioners have power to treat with any nation, and meet at Paris, Aug. 30. Mrs. Adams joins him Aug. 7. House-keeping near Paris, Aug. 17.
- 1785 Feb. 24, Congress appoints him minister to Great Britain. Family to London, May. Adams presented to King George III, June 1. Finds his place difficult.
- 1787 Resigns: resignation accepted, Oct. 5. Congress commends him.
- 1788 April 20, sails from England.

- 1789 April 6, declared to be elected Vice President: takes seat, New York, April 20. Often called to give casting vote in Senate.
- 1793 Vice President again.
- 1797 Is elected President by three votes over Jefferson. Takes Washington's Cabinet. Hamilton's leadership in the party is troublesome.
- 1798 French and English insolence and encroachments. X Y Z affair in France: war spirit aroused: Adams popular. Navy increased. Alien Acts, June 25 and July 6: Sedition Act, July 14. Kentucky Resolutions, Nov. 6: Virginia Resolutions, Dec. 21.
- 1799 Feb., New Embassy to France: it made a treaty Sept. 30, 1800. Continued party struggles. Fries condemned for treason.
- 1800 Fries pardoned. Cabinet changed. Federal party fails: Adams not re-elected.
- 1801 Quarrel with Jefferson. Marshall made Chief Justice. "The Midnight Judges." Adams retires. Loses his son Charles.
- 1818 Oct. 28., Death of Mrs. Adams. Adams previously reconciled to Jefferson.
- 1820 Mr. Adams made presidential elector; votes for Monroe. Elected to Massachusetts convention, and made president of it, but declines.
- 1826 July 4, Death of John Adams, almost 91 years old.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For those who wish to read extensively the following works are especially commended:

- "Works of John Adams, with Life, etc." By his grandson, Charles Francis Adams. 10 vols., 8vo: the first three are biographic.
- "Life of John Adams." By John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams: chiefly by C. F. Adams. 2 vols., 12mo. (Nos. 1 and 2 have been principally used for this biography.)
- "John Adams." By John T. Morse, Jr. (American Statesmen Series.) 1 vol., 12mo.
- "Constitutional History of the U. S." By Hermann Edward Von Holst. Vol. I.
- "History of the U. S. under the Constitution." By James Schouler. Vol. I.
- "Narrative and Critical History of America." By Justin Winsor. Vol. VII. (This volume gives abundant references to other books.)
- "History of the People of the U. S." By John Bach McMaster. Vols. I and II.
- "Cyclopedia of Political Science." By J. J. Salor. 3 vols., 8vo.
- "The Guide to American History," Channing and Harz, 1 vol., 12mo, is an excellent manual of reference for all students.





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